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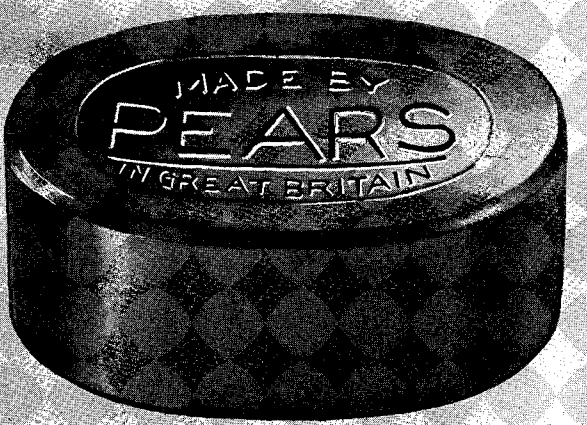

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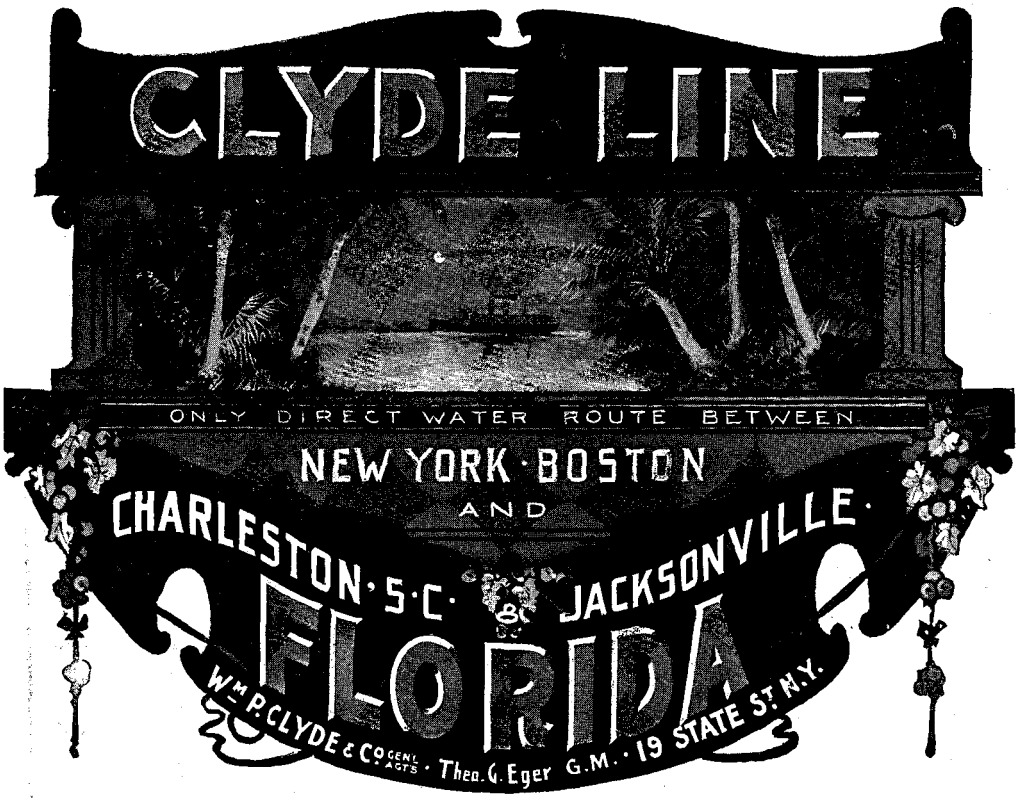
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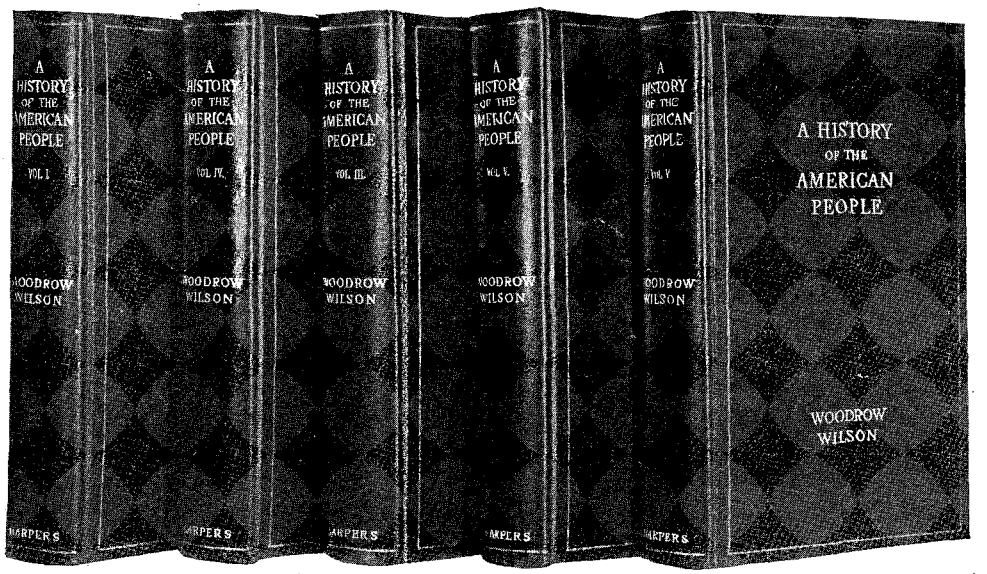

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J. A. HOBSON,

a distinguished British economist, was born in Derby, England, in 1858. He is a graduate of Oxford. He was Classical Master at Faversham and Exeter from 1880 to 1887, and in the latter year he was appointed Lecturer in English Literature and Economics for the Oxford University Extension Delegacy, and the London Society for Extension of University Teaching. In addition to numerous articles in the reviews, he has published the following works: "The Physiology of Industry," "Problems of Poverty," "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," "The Problem of the Unemployed," "John Ruskin, Social Reformer," "The Economics of Distribution," and "The Social Problem."

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where he studied law and was admitted to the Bar. On his return to the Cape in 1868, he went to the diamond fields on the border line of the Orange Free State with a view to practising his profession there, but he remained there but a short time. He then practised law for four years in Cape Colony, when the President of the Orange Free State selected him to preside over the new Court of Appeals, a position which he held until 1889, when he himself was elected to the Presidency. Re-elected at the end of the five years' term, he was soon compelled by ill health to resign from office. After recuperation by travel, he settled in the Transvaal in 1896, in the hope of re-establishing himself as a barrister, but President Krüger appointed him to the bench in the following year, and six months later he was made Secretary of State. In the latter capacity he served up to and during the war with Great Britain. Mr. Reitz was one of the signers of the Treaty of Peace. He left South Africa in July last; and after a period of agitation in Holland against Great Britain and the terms of peace, he came to the United States early in October, where he has already begun a lecturing tour in which he proposes to discuss the same subject.

KARL BLIND.

A note regarding this venerable writer will be found in the number of the REVIEW for last July.

EDITH WHARTON

was the subject of a short note in the REVIEW for July, 1902, to which she contributed an article entitled "The Three Francescas."

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND,

a member of a distinguished German family, was born in Dresden in 1851. Having served in the German army throughout the Franco-German war, he came to the United States in 1872 and applied himself to journalistic work, in the course of which he formed connections with a number of prominent papers in New York, St. Louis and Chicago. In 1886, he went to Teheran, as secretary to General F. H. Winston, who had been appointed United States Minister to Persia. From 1894 till the end of last year, he was chief correspondent in Berlin for the Associated Press.

SAMUEL J. BARROWS

was born in the city of New York in 1845. In 1867, he became stenographic secretary to William H. Seward, who was then Secretary of State, and he remained in the Department

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of State until 1871. After completing courses of study at the Harvard Divinity School and the University of Leipzig, he was called, in 1876, to the pastorate of the First Unitarian Church of Dorchester (Boston), Massachusetts, which he filled for five years, when he became editor of "The Christian Register," a position which he held for sixteen years. He spent the year 1892-3 in Europe, studying archæology in Greece and visiting European prisons. He is the representative of the United States on the International Prison Commission, having been appointed to that office by President McKinley in 1896. He was a member of the Fifty-fifth Congress in which he represented the Tenth District of Boston, Massachusetts, and he served on the Committee on Indian Affairs. As a penologist, Mr. Barrows is the author of numerous reports published by the Government, and he is Corresponding Secretary of the Prison Association of New York. He is the author of a volume entitled "The Isles and Shrines of Greece" and of various historical monographs.

R. Leoncavallo.

It is unnecessary to add anything to the interesting, though short, account of his career which Signor Leoncavallo gives in the article in which he tells how he wrote "Pagliacci."

John Barrett.

There is probably no American who has done more than Mr. Barrett to make this country appreciate its great opportunities and responsibilities in the lands that border the eastern shore of the Pacific. For years he has devoted himself closely to the study of the Far East, and of the methods by which the conditions existing in that part of the world can best be turned to account for the advantage of America. From 1894 to 1898, he was United States Minister to Siam, and in a successful effort to secure a settlement of an American claim against that country he obtained the first clear interpretation of the scope of extra-territorial jurisdiction in Asia—a service for which he was specially thanked by the President of the United States. He was one of the United States Delegates to the International Conference of American Republics recently held in the City of Mexico, and, as Commissioner-General of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to Asia, Australia and the Philippines, he is now endeavoring to promote practical interest among the peoples of these distant regions in the International Exhibition to be held in St. Louis in 1904.

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The Rev. Moses Gaster,

Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic Communities of Great Britain, is one of the most distinguished of the Roumanian Jews. He comes of an ancient family in Bucharest, and was at one time lecturer on Roumanian language and literature at the University of Bucharest. Although exiled by the Government for his activity in behalf of persecuted Jews, he returned to Roumania in September to study the condition of his fellow-countrymen, and was invited to the palace for a consultation with the King in regard to the condition of the Roumanian Jews. Dr. Gaster is the author of a "History of Roumanian Literature," and of many learned works, and translations from the Hebrew.

The Rev. W. E. Griffis, D.D.,

after graduating at Rutgers College in 1869, went to Japan in 1870 to organize schools on the American plan. He was superintendent of education in the province of Echizen in 1871, and Professor of Physics in the Imperial University of Tokio for several years. On returning to the United States, he studied divinity, and became pastor of a Reformed church at Schenectady, New York, in 1877, of a Congregational church in Boston in 1886, and of a Congregational church in Ithaca, New York, in 1893. He has written voluminously on Japanese subjects.

Lady Henry Somerset

holds a place of honor among the practical philanthropists of the time, having devoted her life to the effort to ameliorate the condition of poor and unfortunate women and children. In 1889, she was president of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union, and she is president of the National British Women's Temperance Association. She established the "Woman's Signal," and edited that paper in the interest of women's work. She originated a home for training workhouse children, and several local missions. She founded the industrial farm colony for inebriate women at Duxhurst, Surrey, which she describes in her article in this number, and which is the first institution for women opened in England on these lines. Besides frequent contributions to periodicals, some of which have appeared in this Review, she has written a number of leaflets and books.

O. P. Austin

was the subject of a note in the number of the Review for November, 1900.

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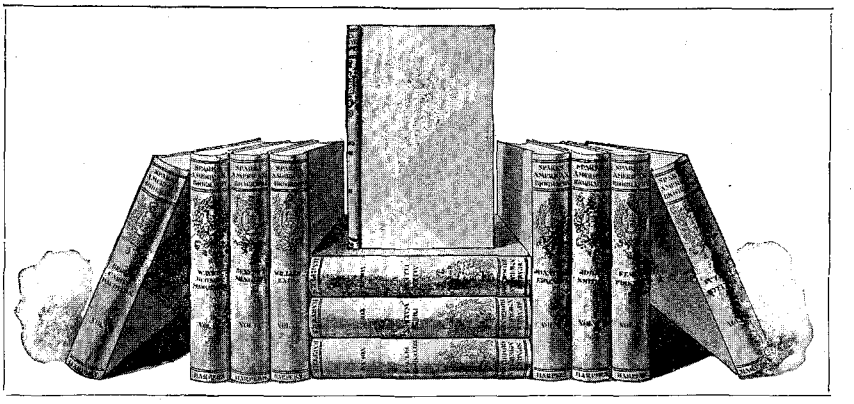

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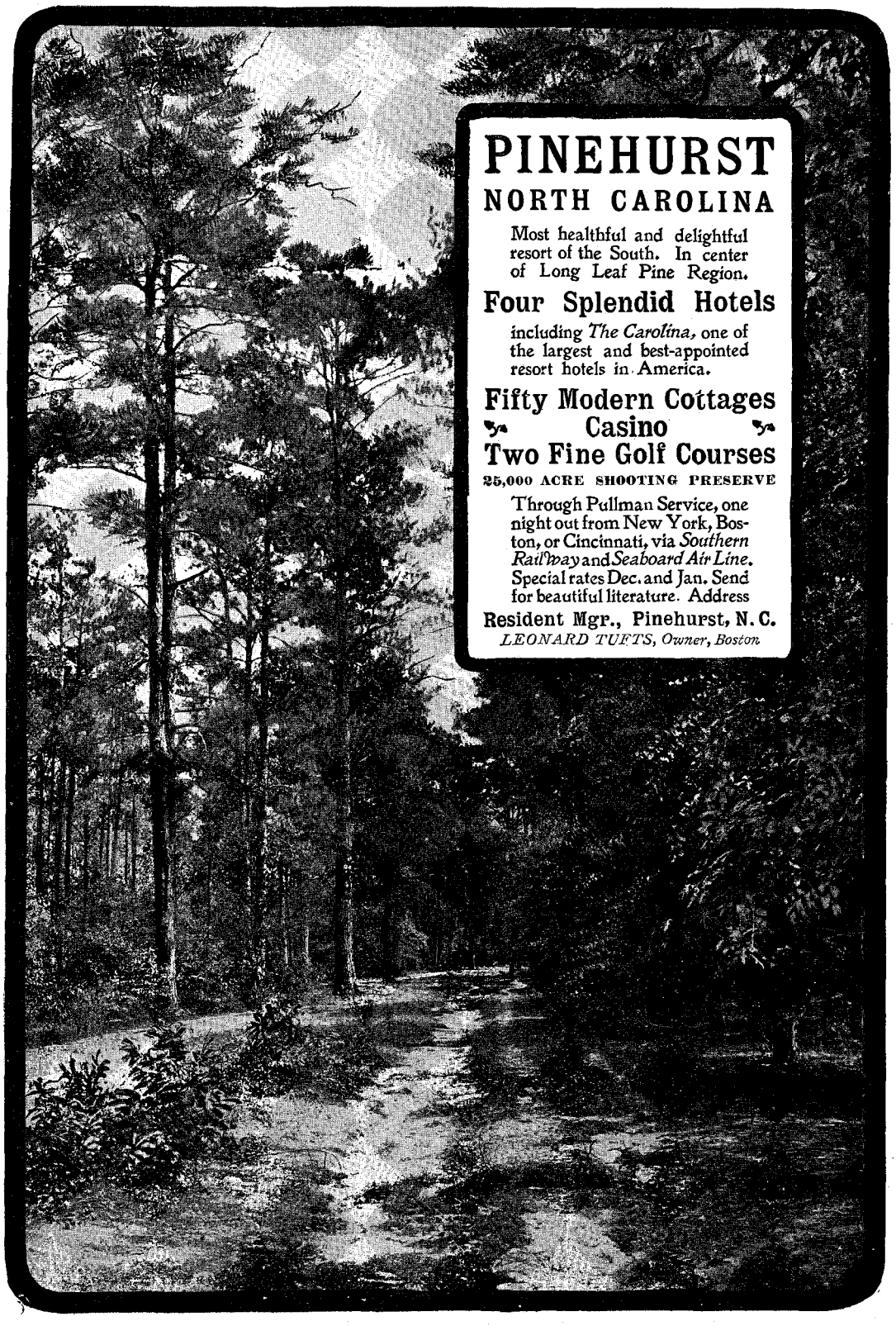
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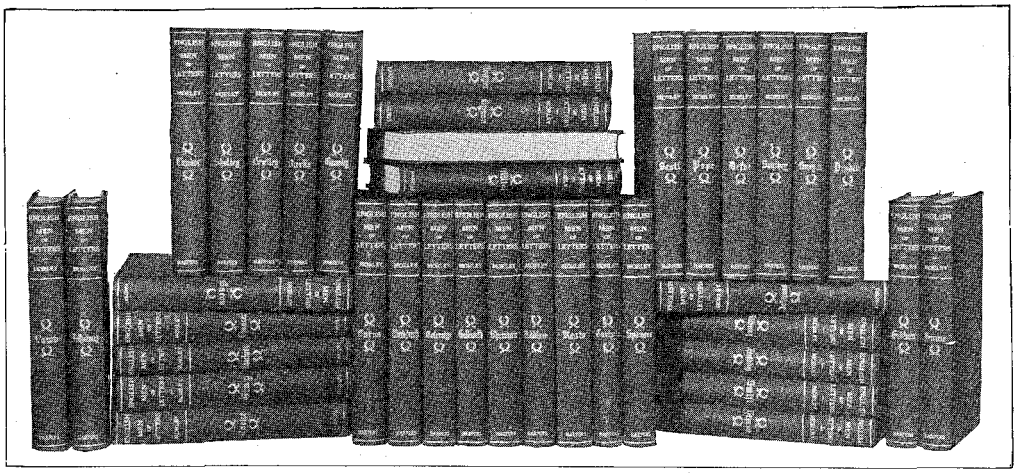

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DLII.

NOVEMBER, 1902.

A DECADE OF AMERICAN FINANCE.

BY JAY COOKE.

I

WHEN the National Banking law under which we now have the finest banking system in the world, was first proposed, it had few friends. Sherman of Ohio, Fessenden of Maine, and Hooper of Boston, were conspicuous among them. Secretary Chase was determined to bring his bill before the House, but its chances of passage seemed hopeless. By some it was ridiculed, by others bitterly antagonized. Jay Cooke & Co. were recognized at the national capital as a financial agency of the government, the war loans having all passed through their hands. An appeal was made for their influence in behalf of the National Bank Act.

I took the Chase bill home with me one afternoon early in January, 1863, and, with my brother and partner, Henry D. Cooke, Governor of the District of Columbia, sat up till midnight reading and discussing it. We came to the conclusion that it ought to pass. Shortly afterward Mr. Hooper introduced it. In six weeks it did pass with great unanimity—considering the unfriendly reception it had had at first. On February 25th, 1863, this measure received the signature of President Lincoln.

Immediately questions arose as to how to organize a national

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bank. I drafted a formula for a charter and many of the first banks were practically organized by Jay Cooke & Co. The first charter issued should have named the First National Bank of Washington, which holds, I think, the thirty-sixth; but my partners and I were too much engaged on more important matters to seek on our own behalf this honor of priority which fell to the First National Bank of Philadelphia, which holds charter number one, its papers having been the first to reach the Treasury. That bank was organized and principally owned by Jay Cooke & Co., as was also the First National Bank of Washington.

When the Comptroller of the Currency made his first report on the new system, in November, 1863, one hundred and thirty-four national banks had been organized, and the greatest interest had been aroused throughout the country. The first national bank notes made their appearance late in December of that year. Experience having shown the advisability of certain amendments and modifications in the law, another act was drafted which became a law on June 3d, 1864. In the year ending October 31st, 1864, four hundred and fifty-three national banks were organized, with an aggregate capital of $79,366,950. In the year ending October 31st, 1865, one thousand and fourteen national banks were organized, with an aggregate capital of $242,542,982. The advantage taken of the act was immediate and general throughout the country, with one important exception. The year 1865 was the birth-year of a great majority of the new banks; in the year ending October 31st, 1866, only sixty-two national banks were organized, and in the succeeding year only ten.

New York, however, came in slowly. One might have expected the first charter in New York City to go to the Bank of New York, the first bank established on Manhattan Island, and the second in the United States. But the banks of New York held back; they wanted to hold on to their names and their history, with which, in one instance, some of the founders of the nation had been identified for years, beginning with its organization. All New York's financial institutions treated the new banking system with indifference. The First National Bank of New York was organized in the basement at the north-east corner of Broadway and Wall Street, by John Thompson, the proprietor of the "*Bank Note Reporter*," with a capital of just $200,000. The smallest capital any national bank could have in a place of more

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than 6,000 inhabitants was $100,000; so New York began her national banking on a small scale. Thompson was a great friend and admirer of Secretary Chase. He felt that in organizing the First National Bank of New York he was doing a public service as well as gratifying Mr. Chase. The Second National Bank of New York was organized, under the Fifth Avenue Hotel, with a capital of $200,000. Winslow, Lanier & Co., great friends of Mr. Chase, organized the Third National Bank, with a capital of $300,000. These were the first three national banks in the first banking city in the United States, with a combined capital of only $700,000.

The Secretary of the Treasury was mortified at the coldness of the financial centre of the country toward his pet measure. The banks of all the other great cities in the United States had readily adopted the national system. The attitude of the city of New York was the more noticeable for that reason.

An effort had been made by friends of Mr. Chase in New York, among whom were Mr. George Opdyke and the President of the United States Trust Company, Mr. Stewart, I think, to start a five-million-dollar Fourth National Bank in New York City. All their efforts resulted, however, in obtaining but one million three hundred thousand dollars in subscriptions, and the project was for the time abandoned. About this time I was in Washington, and Mr. Chase mentioned to me his great disappointment.

I told him that, if he so desired, I would go to New York and organize a five-million-dollar national bank within three days. It was on Friday that he authorized me to make the attempt. On Monday morning I went to New York, having communicated with my New York subscription agents, Livermore, Clews & Co., Fisk & Hatch, and Clark, Dodge & Co., and others. A meeting was held in the offices of the trust company, and it was resolved that the bank should be established in three days.

On Monday, at 3 P.M., the first of the three days expired, and we had received stock subscriptions of $2,700,000. This amount included the revival of $1,300,000 in subscriptions previously obtained by the New York committee under Mr. Opdyke. It also included subscriptions of $500,000 which, before leaving on Monday, I had obtained in Philadelphia, $100,000 of it being subscribed there by George H. Stewart and others.

On Tuesday, at 3 P.M., the stock subscriptions amounted to

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$3,500,000; on Wednesday, at 3 P. M., the list totalled $4,350,000, and we had yet to hear from my agents in Boston, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, and elsewhere. But we wanted the five millions in hand, according to my promise to the Secretary, on the third day. So eight of us took then and there the remaining $650,000, and the Fourth National Bank of New York was started. The capital of this bank was subsequently reduced to $3,000,000.

When the outside subscriptions to the stock of New York's Fourth National Bank were all in, the aggregate exceeded the amount of capital required.

I caused it to be quietly proclaimed to the New York institutions that the Government did not wish to antagonize them; but that it did expect them all to conform speedily to the new order of things. If it should be necessary to effect this, I was prepared to establish within thirty days a Fifth National Bank of New York with a capital of $50,000,000, which would include the subscriptions of other national banks and of friends of the Government everywhere. It was believed that I could accomplish what was now proposed within the time specified. There was also, in New York, little doubt that the implied co-operation of other national banks throughout the country, together with the Government's influence and deposits, in a $50,000,000 national bank in New York, would greatly cripple the old institutions. This pressure brought about, within the next few months, the transfer to the national system of nearly all the New York banks.

The result has fully justified our expectations. The national banking system was an evolution. Its Federal features offered relief from the perils of State banks. The Chase Act was in part modelled on the provisions of the free banking law of New York. It gave the United States a uniform currency. The banks deposited with the Government the bonds of the Government as security for their circulation. There could not be a stronger basis for entire and perfect security of the banks' circulation, combining as it does the Government guarantee with the capital of the national banks. The nearest previous approach to security for bank circulation was the Safety Fund system of the State of New York, and an admirable system of a similar kind adopted in Ohio. But in almost all the States there had been an entire diversity of bank issues, most of which were unsafe and irresponsible. To those who have experienced the old and the

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new, the contrast is stupendous; and all efforts now being made to impair, in any manner, the national system of banking and issues of circulation are based upon false premises and on ignorance of the benefits derived from the national system.

In 1860 there were 1,562 State banks in the United States; in 1868, there were only 247. Prior to 1879, 81 national banks had failed. At the end of 1897, 5,095 national banks had been organized, of which 352, or just 6.9 per cent. had failed, without a dollar's loss to the holders of circulation.

At the beginning of 1864, 139 national banks with loans and discounts of $10,666,095, had individual deposits of $19,450,492. The next year the number of national banks had grown to 638, their loans and discounts to $166,448,718, and their individual deposits to $183,479,636. At the beginning of 1873, a panic year, 1,940 national banks had loans and discounts of $885,653,-449 and individual deposits of $598,114,679. The effect of the crisis is strikingly shown the next year. At the beginning of 1874, there were only 36 more national banks than at the beginning of 1873, and these 1,976 institutions had loans and discounts of only $856,816,555,—a fall of nearly $30,000,000 from the figures for 1873. The individual deposits for 1874 were $540,510,602, a fall of nearly sixty millions in a year. From 1885 to 1892 the number of national banks increased from 2,664 to 3,692, their loans and discounts from $1,234,202,226, to $2,001,032,625 and their individual deposits from $987,649,055 in 1885 to $1,602,-052,766 in 1892.

From 1893 to 1895, the number of national banks decreased from 3,784 to 3,737, their loans and discounts fell away from $2,166,615,720 to $1,974,623,974, and their undivided deposits from $1,764,456,177 to $1,695,489,346. But from the year 1896 on to the present time the progress of the banks has kept pace steadily with the progress of the country. The national banking system gives us the only United States Bank we need.

II

Congress chartered the Northern Pacific Railroad Company by an act approved on July 2d, 1864. The building of the Union Pacific railroads while we were engaged in the bloodiest war of modern times was an exploit of which, under all the circumstances, only the United States would seem capable. The Union

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Pacific, the first of the great trans-continental systems to be actually operated, had not been chartered until July 1st, 1862; yet portions of the line were in actual use before the war was over. They were already proving their value to the Government. In 1865 the Union Pacific operated fifty-six miles; in 1869, it was formally thrown open to traffic on May 10th. That year 742 miles of the Union Pacific were in use.

The friends of the Northern Pacific route saw fewer obstacles in their way. From St. Paul to Seattle the distance was only 1,764 miles, as against 2,366 miles from Memphis to San Francisco—mooted as the Southern route, and 2,482 miles from St. Louis to Benicia, the earliest central route. The charter incorporated certain persons, as commissioners, to lay out a continuous railroad and telegraph line from a point on Lake Superior, on a line north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, to some point on Puget Sound. The terminus on Lake Superior was finally located at Duluth and Superior, cities at the head of the lake.

The Northern was called the Valley Route. I believe I gave it that name myself. It ran westerly for a long distance through the valleys of the Red River and the Yellowstone River. Its right of way was 400 feet wide, 200 on each side of the track, and its splendid land grant included twenty alternate sections of the public lands, per mile of route, in each Territory, and ten alternating sections in each State. The Government gave to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, in other words, 47,360,000 acres of land, 12,800 acres per mile of railroad in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and 25,000 acres per mile in Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. The sales of these lands ought practically to have paid for the construction of the railroad which earned them.

The tenth section of the charter declared that "no mortgage or construction bonds shall ever be issued by said company on said road, or mortgage or lien made in any way, except by the consent of the Congress of the United States." And it speedily became evident that land sales and stock sales would not bring money enough into the company's treasury. The consent of Congress would have to be asked for a bond issue.

The financial agency of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company was offered to Jay Cooke & Co., in 1869. On February 18th, 1870, a Joint Resolution was reported to Congress authorizing the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to mortgage its franchise.

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The resolution intimated that this would settle "doubt among capitalists of Europe" as to the company's ability to build the road. On March 1st, the resolution was passed, consenting that the company "issue its bonds and secure same by mortgage upon its railroad and telegraph line, for the purpose of raising funds for the construction of said railroad and telegraph line." The bond issue was formally authorized by another Joint Resolution on May 31st, 1870.

Great care was necessary in each of these steps. It was necessary that "the capitalists of Europe" should find the Northern Pacific bonds an attractive investment. The mortgage indenture was made on July 1st, 1870, to Jay Cooke and J. Edgar Thomson, trustees; Mr. Thomson was president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The mortgage recited that the line "will be in the aggregate about 2,500 miles in length," and that the company had determined to procure a loan not exceeding $50,000 per mile, and to that end to make and deliver its bonds payable in gold, in thirty years, with interest at 7-30/100 per annum, "also payable in gold at the offices of Jay Cooke & Co." in New York, Washington, and Philadelphia.

The Prussian minister at Washington, Baron de Gerolt, owned lands in Minnesota. He was a believer in the future of the Northwest. One evening early in July, I met at dinner at Baron de Gerolt's, two or three German capitalists, members of such houses as the Bleichroders and Seligmans who happened to be in Washington. They were on the eve of returning home. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company's lands and future, its bonds and their gold coupons, were discussed over coffee and cigars. Baron de Gerolt spoke of his own Minnesota lands, and told his guests that I was acting on behalf of the railroad company in much the same capacity as that in which, a few years before, I had acted for the United States Government.

The result of this conversation and of negotiations thereafter formally conducted with Budge, Schiff & Co. of New York, representing a European syndicate, was that Budge, Schiff & Co. subscribed for six or eight millions of Northern Pacific Railroad bonds and took an option on a much larger block of those securities. On a given day $50,000,000 in gold was to be put to the credit of Jay Cooke & Co. On receipt of cable advices to that effect, I was to put $50,000,000 worth of Northern Pacific rail-

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road bonds and, as a bonus, $50,000,000 worth of Northern Pacific stock to the credit of the Syndicate in New York.

On July 16th, I received a message by cable to the effect that the fifty millions in gold would be placed in three days to the credit of Jay Cooke & Co.

On July 19th, France unexpectedly declared war against Prussia and Louis Napoleon issued a proclamation.

I was stunned by the blow; France and Prussia could no longer unite in an investment. Their capitalists had armies to move in opposition, not in harmony.

By means of the same system of agencies through which I had placed the war loans for the Government, I now began to sell Northern Pacific bonds. But the capitalists of the United States were just then beginning to feel the effects of the vast cost of our own war, which has been estimated at nearly six thousand million dollars to the Government alone.

No matter how good the Northern Pacific securities were as investments, American capital was locked away from them. Railroads were building all over the country, and banks had made liberal advances on their securities. From 1860 to 1867, the average annual increase of railway mileage had been 1,311; in 1869, the new mileage was 4,953; while in 1870 it amounted to 5,690. The era of railroad construction was at its zenith. The Savings Banks of the country showed deposits in 1870 of $549,874,358.

The speedy end of the war between France and Prussia led me to think of another foreign syndicate to float Northern Pacific bonds. This time I looked to London; but I was promised the powerful co-operation of some of my German friends. An English syndicate was formed to which they became subscribers to the extent of $20,000,000. The gold was to be deposited in London and the bonds and stock in New York.

The Treaty of Washington was signed on May 8th, 1871. The tribunal to arbitrate the "Alabama" claims convened at Geneva in December of that year. On September 14th, 1872, the arbitration tribunal gave a final award in favor of the United States.

The dissatisfaction with which the Geneva award was received in Great Britain was no greater than the satisfaction with which it was acclaimed in the United States. There was as much rejoicing that England had been defeated as that we had been victorious. This feeling was very general. It was too bitter, on

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both sides the Atlantic, for a British syndicate to invest at that time in American railway securities. Indeed the differences between the British Premier and the American Secretary of State had been so bitter and antagonistic that the prospect even of a war between the two nations was imminent, and the $20,000,000 syndicate was abandoned on the eve of its success.

Once more I was compelled to look at home for money with which to finance the Northern Pacific Railroad. Railway mileage in the United States had increased 7,670 miles in 1871, and 6,167 miles in 1872. The year 1873 opened under widely unsettled conditions.

The Granger agitation in the West had the effect of still further frightening away investors from railroad securities. The market was already surfeited. In April, 1873, as financial agents of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, my house issued and circulated widely a pamphlet on "the Valley Route to the Pacific," with an invitation to investors to look carefully into the resources of the company. At that time, 500 miles of the Northern Pacific Railroad had been finished and the company was *ipso facto* entitled to ten million acres of public lands, which were then selling at an average price of $5.60 per acre! There was in sight money enough, in time, to complete an enterprise which has never yet been excelled in the merits of its appeal to the public. I am as firmly convinced of this now as I was then.

But there were factors in the situation which not merit nor energy nor experience could cope with. The silver question was one of them. The New York Warehouse and Security Company, and two or three other banking houses heavily loaded down with railroad securities, failed. A run for legal-tender began on the banks of New York. On September 18th, Jay Cooke & Co. failed.

Country banks called home their deposits from redemption cities, which in turn called their deposits from New York banks. These called their loans in Wall Street.

On September 20th, the Union Trust Company and two or three banks and trust companies suspended. The doors of the Stock Exchange were closed for ten days. On September 22nd, the gold exchange closed with gold at 112. There was no actual panic among merchants; nor outside of New York, except among Savings Bank depositors. But the liquidation thus begun lasted five or six years. The purchase of $12,000,000 of outstanding

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bonds by the Government, and the issue of $22,000,000 in Clearing House certificates by the Associated Banks of New York, helped to clear up the situation. There were 5,183 bankrupts in 1873, with liabilities of 228 millions. In 1874, there were 5,830 bankrupts, with liabilities of 155 millions.

The question of the continuance of the issue of silver on the old basis might have been appropriately discussed when silver was demonetized in 1873, by an Act of Congress apparently innocent enough on its face. But it was folly, if not crime, to bring it forward after the country had adjusted itself to the changed financial conditions resulting from the passage of the Act. This was entitled a "Bill Relative to Assays and Mints," in sixty-nine prolix sections, hidden away in which were: Section 15, providing that "the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half dollar, a quarter dollar, etc.," and Section 17, declaring that "no coins either of gold, silver, or minor coinage shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth." This left the currency of the country without a silver dollar, and lessened by about one-half the money which the people used and depended on to pay their debts with. Had the title of the bill indicated that it proposed to legislate the silver dollar out of the United States, it could never have passed. Nearly all the Representatives and Senators who voted for it have since declared that they entirely misunderstood the act by which silver was demonetized, and that they had no intention at that time of dropping the issue of the silver dollar, which was the only issue of silver coinage that was a legal tender.

The enormous discoveries of gold in our country and in other parts of the world have filled the vacuum of legal tenders. Otherwise this wanton and foolish destruction of the legal-tender character of the silver dollar would have been disastrous indeed. The immediate effect of it was to destroy or lessen the ability of the debtor to discharge both foreign and domestic debts. Fortunate indeed it was for the country that the wiping out of so large a portion of our legal tenders was supplemented by gold discoveries.

Since, however, this country and other nations have adjusted themselves to the new condition of things, it would be impossible to restore the legal-tender character of silver.

JAY COOKE.

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ÉMILE ZOLA.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

In these times of electrical movement, the sort of construction in the moral world for which ages were once needed, takes place almost simultaneously with the event to be adjusted in history, and as true a perspective forms itself as any in the past. A few weeks after the death of a poet of such great epical imagination, such great ethical force, as Émile Zola, we may see him as clearly and judge him as fairly as posterity alone was formerly supposed able to see and to judge the heroes that antedated it. The present is always holding in solution the elements of the future and the past, in fact; and whilst Zola still lived, in the moments of his highest activity, the love and hate, the intelligence and ignorance, of his motives and his work were as evident, and were as accurately the measure of progressive and retrogressive criticism, as they will be hereafter in any of the literary periods to come. There will never be criticism to appreciate him more justly, to depreciate him more unjustly, than that of his immediate contemporaries. There will never be a day when criticism will be of one mind about him, when he will no longer be a question, and will have become a conclusion.

A conclusion is an accomplished fact, something finally ended, something dead; and the extraordinary vitality of Zola, when he was doing the things most characteristic of him, forbids the notion of this in his case. Like every man who embodies an ideal, his individuality partook of what was imperishable in that ideal. Because he believed with his whole soul that fiction should be the representation, and in no measure the misrepresentation, of life, he will live as long as any history of literature survives. He will live as a question, a dispute, an affair of inextinguishable debate; for the two principles of the human mind, the love of the natural

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and the love of the unnatural, the real and the unreal, the truthful and the fanciful, are inalienable and indestructible.

I

Zola embodied his ideal inadequately, as every man who embodies an ideal must. His realism was his creed, which he tried to make his deed; but, before his fight was ended, and almost before he began to forebode it a losing fight, he began to feel and to say (for to feel, with that most virtuous and veracious spirit, implied saying) that he was too much a romanticist by birth and tradition, to exemplify realism in his work. He could not be all to the cause he honored that other men were—men like Flaubert and Maupassant, and Tourguenieff and Tolstoy, and Galdós and Valdés—because his intellectual youth had been nurtured on the milk of romanticism at the breast of his mother-time. He grew up in the day when the great novelists and poets were romanticists, and what he came to abhor he had first adored. He was that pathetic paradox, a prophet who cannot practise what he preaches, who cannot build his doctrine into the edifice of a living faith.

Zola was none the less, but all the more, a poet in this. He conceived of reality poetically and always saw his human documents, as he began early to call them, ranged in the form of an epic poem. He fell below the greatest of the Russians, to whom alone he was inferior, in imagining that the affairs of men group themselves strongly about a central interest to which they constantly refer, and after whatever excursions definitely or definitively return. He was not willingly an epic poet, perhaps, but he was an epic poet, nevertheless; and the imperfection of his realism began with the perfection of his form. Nature is sometimes dramatic, though never on the hard and fast terms of the theatre, but she is almost never epic; and Zola was always epic. One need only think over his books and his subjects to be convinced of this: "*L'Assommoir*" and drunkenness; "*Nana*" and harlotry; "*Germinale*" and strikes; "*L'Argent*" and money getting and losing in all its branches; "*Pot-Bouille*" and the cruel squalor of poverty; "*La Terre*" and the life of the peasant; "*Le Debâcle*" and the decay of imperialism. The largest of these schemes does not extend beyond the periphery described by the centrifugal whirl of its central motive, and the least of the Rougon-Macquart series is of the same epicality as the grandest. Each is bound to a

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thesis, but reality is bound to no thesis. You cannot say where it begins or where it leaves off; and it will not allow you to say precisely what its meaning or argument is. For this reason, there are no such perfect pieces of realism as the plays of Ibsen, which have all or each a thesis, but do not hold themselves bound to prove it, or even fully to state it; after these, for reality, come the novels of Tolstoy, which are of a direction so profound because so patient of aberration and exception.

We think of beauty as implicated in symmetry, but there are distinctly two kinds of beauty: the symmetrical and the unsymmetrical, the beauty of the temple and the beauty of the tree. Life is no more symmetrical than a tree, and the effort of art to give it balance and proportion is to make it as false in effect as a tree clipped and trained to a certain shape. The Russians and the Scandinavians alone seem to have risen to a consciousness of this in their imaginative literature, though the English have always unconsciously obeyed the law of our being in their generally crude and involuntary formulations of it. In the northern masters there is no appearance of what M. Ernest Dupuy calls the joiner-work of the French fictionists; and there is, in the process, no joiner-work in Zola, but the final effect is joiner-work. It is a temple he builds, and not a tree he plants and lets grow after he has planted the seed, and here he betrays not only his French school but his Italian instinct.

In his form, Zola is classic, that is regular, symmetrical, seeking the beauty of the temple rather than the beauty of the tree. If the fight in his day had been the earlier fight between classicism and romanticism, instead of romanticism and realism, his nature and tradition would have ranged him on the side of classicism, though, as in the later event, his feeling might have been romantic. I think it has been the error of criticism not to take due account of his Italian origin, or to recognize that he was only half French, and that this half was his superficial half. At the bottom of his soul, though not perhaps at the bottom of his heart, he was Italian, and of the great race which in every science and every art seems to win the primacy when it will. The French, through the rhetoric of Napoleon III., imposed themselves on the imagination of the world as the representatives of the Latin race, but they are the least and the last of the Latins, and the Italians are the first. To his Italian origin Zola owed not only the moralistic scope of

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his literary ambition, but the depth and strength of his personal conscience, capable of the austere puritanism which underlies the so-called immoralities of his books, and incapable of the peculiar lubricity which we call French, possibly to distinguish it from the lubricity of other people rather than to declare it a thing solely French. In the face of all public and private corruptions, his soul is as Piagnone as Savonarola's, and the vices of Arrabbiati, small and great, are always his text, upon which he preaches virtue.

II

Zola is to me so vast a theme that I can only hope here to touch his work at a point or two, leaving the proof of my sayings mostly to the honesty of the reader. It will not require so great an effort of his honesty now, as it once would, to own that Zola's books, though often indecent, are never immoral, but always most terribly, most pitilessly moral. I am not saying now that they ought to be in every family library, or that they could be edifyingly committed to the hands of boys and girls; one of our first publishing houses is about to issue an edition even of the Bible "with those passages omitted which are usually skipped in reading aloud"; and it is always a question how much young people can be profitably allowed to know; how much they do know, they alone can tell. But as to the intention of Zola in his books, I have no doubt of its righteousness. His books may be, and I suppose they often are, indecent, but they are not immoral; they may disgust, but they will not deprave; only those already rotten can scent corruption in them, and these, I think, may be deceived by effuvia from within themselves.

It is to the glory of the French realists that they broke, one and all, with the tradition of the French romanticists that vice was or might be something graceful, something poetic, something gay, brilliant, something superior almost, and at once boldly presented it in its true figure, its spiritual and social and physical squalor. Beginning with Flaubert in his "*Madame Bovary*," and passing through the whole line of their studies in morbid anatomy, as the "*Germinie Lacerteux*" of the Goncourts, as the "*Bel-Ami*" of Maupassant, and as all the books of Zola, you have portraits as veracious as those of the Russians, or those of Defoe, whom, indeed, more than any other master, Zola has made me think of in his frankness. Through his epicality he is Defoe's inferior,

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though much more than his equal in the range and implication of his work.

A whole world seems to stir in each of his books; and, though it is a world altogether bent for the time being upon one thing, as the actual world never is, every individual in it seems alive and true to the fact. M. Brunetière says Zola's characters are not true to the French fact; that his peasants, working-men, citizens, soldiers are not French, whatever else they may be; but this is merely M. Brunetière's word against Zola's word, and Zola had as good opportunities of knowing French life as M. Brunetière, whose æsthetics, as he betrays them in his instances, are of a flabbiness which does not impart conviction. Word for word, I should take Zola's word as to the fact, not because I have the means of affirming him more reliable, but because I have rarely known the observant instinct of poets to fail, and because I believe that every reader will find in himself sufficient witness to the veracity of Zola's characterizations. These, if they are not true to the French fact, are true to the human fact; and I should say that in these the reality of Zola, unreal or ideal in his larger form, his epicality, vitally resided. His people live in the memory as entirely as any people who have ever lived; and, however devastating one's experience of them may be, it leaves no doubt of their having been.

III

It is not much to say of a work of literary art that it will survive as a record of the times it treats of, and I would not claim high value for Zola's fiction because it is such a true picture of the Second Empire in its decline; yet, beyond any other books I just now think of, his books have the quality that alone makes novels historical. That they include everything, that they do justice to all sides and phases of the period, it would be fatuous to expect, and ridiculous to demand. It is not their epical character alone that forbids this; it is the condition of every work of art, which must choose its point of view, and include only the things that fall within a certain scope. One of Zola's polemical delusions was to suppose that a fiction ought not to be selective, and that his own fictions were not selective, but portrayed the fact without choice and without limitation. The fact was that he was always choosing, and always limiting. Even a map chooses and limits, far more a picture. Yet this delusion of Zola's and its

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affirmation resulted in no end of misunderstanding. People said the noises of the streets, which he supposed himself to have given with graphophonic fulness and variety, were not music; and they were quite right. Zola, as far as his effects were voluntary, was not giving them music; he openly loathed the sort of music they meant just as he openly loathed art, and asked to be regarded as a man of science rather than an artist. Yet, at the end of the ends, he was an artist and not a man of science. His hand was perpetually selecting his facts, and shaping them to one epical result, with an orchestral accompaniment, which, though reporting the rudest noises of the street, the vulgarest, the most offensive, was, in spite of him, so reporting them that the result was harmony.

Zola was an artist, and one of the very greatest, but even before and beyond that he was intensely a moralist, as only the moralists of our true and noble time have been. Not Tolstoy, not Ibsen himself, has more profoundly and indignantly felt the injustice of civilization, or more insistently shown the falsity of its fundamental pretensions. He did not make his books a polemic for one cause or another; he was far too wise and sane for that; but when he began to write them they became alive with his sense of what was wrong and false and bad. His tolerance is less than Tolstoy's, because his resignation is not so great; it is for the weak sinners and not for the strong, while Tolstoy's, with that transcendent vision of his race, pierces the bounds where the shows of strength and weakness cease and become of a solidarity of error in which they are one. But the ethics of his work, like Tolstoy's, were always carrying over into his life. He did not try to live poverty and privation and hard labor, as Tolstoy does; he surrounded himself with the graces and the luxuries which his honestly earned money enabled him to buy; but when an act of public and official atrocity disturbed the working of his mind and revolted his nature, he could not rest again till he had done his best to right it.

IV

The other day Zola died (by a casualty which one fancies he would have liked to employ in a novel, if he had thought of it), and the man whom he had befriended at the risk of all he had in the world, his property, his liberty, his life itself, came to his

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funeral in disguise, risking again all that Zola had risked, to pay the last honors to his incomparable benefactor.

It was not the first time that a French literary man had devoted himself to the cause of the oppressed, and made it his personal affair, his charge, his inalienable trust. But Voltaire's championship of the persecuted Protestant had not the measure of Zola's championship of the persecuted Jew, though in both instances the courage and the persistence of the vindicator forced the reopening of the case and resulted in final justice. It takes nothing from the heroism of Voltaire to recognize that it was not so great as the heroism of Zola, and it takes nothing from the heroism of Zola to recognize that it was effective in the only country of Europe where such a case as that of Dreyfus would have been reopened; where there was a public imagination generous enough to conceive of undoing an act of immense public cruelty. At first this imagination was dormant, and the French people conceived only of punishing the vindicator along with the victim, for daring to accuse their processes of injustice. Outrage, violence, and the peril of death greeted Zola from his fellow-citizens, and from the authorities ignominy, fine, and prison. But nothing silenced or deterred him, and, in the swift course of moral adjustment characteristic of our time, an innumerable multitude of those who were ready a few years ago to rend him in pieces joined in paying tribute to the greatness of his soul, at the grave which received his body already buried under an avalanche of flowers. The government has not been so prompt as the mob, but with the history of France in mind, remembering how official action has always responded to the national impulses in behalf of humanity and justice, one cannot believe that the representatives of the French people will long remain behind the French people in offering reparation to the memory of one of the greatest and most heroic of French citizens. It is a pity for the government that it did not take part in the obsequies of Zola; it would have been well for the army, which he was falsely supposed to have defamed, to have been present to testify of the real service and honor he had done it. But, in good time enough, the reparation will be official as well as popular, and when the monument to Zola, which has already risen in the hearts of his countrymen, shall embody itself in enduring marble or perennial bronze, the army will be there to join in its consecration.

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V

There is no reason why criticism should affect an equal hesitation. Criticism no longer assumes to ascertain an author's place in literature. It is very well satisfied if it can say something suggestive concerning the nature and quality of his work, and it tries to say this with as little of the old air of finality as it can manage to hide its poverty in.

After the words of M. Chaumie at the funeral, "Zola's life work was dominated by anxiety for sincerity and truth, an anxiety inspired by his great feelings of pity and justice," there seems nothing left to do but to apply them to the examination of his literary work. They unlock the secret of his performance, if it is any longer a secret, and they afford its justification in all those respects where without them it could not be justified. The question of immorality has been set aside, and the indecency has been admitted, but it remains for us to realize that anxiety for sincerity and truth, springing from the sense of pity and justice, makes indecency a condition of portraying human nature so that it may look upon its image and be ashamed.

The moralist working imaginatively has always had to ask himself how far he might go in illustration of his thesis, and he has not hesitated, or if he has hesitated, he has not failed to go far very far. Defoe went far, Richardson went far, Ibsen has gone far, Tolstoy has gone far, and if Zola went farther than any of these, still he did not go so far as the immoralists have gone in the portrayal of vicious things to allure where he wished to repel. There is really such a thing as high motive and such a thing as low motive, though the processes are often so bewilderingly alike in both cases. The processes may confound us, but there is no reason why we should be mistaken as to motive, and as to Zola's motive I do not think M. Chaumie was mistaken. As to his methods, they by no means always reflected his intentions. He fancied himself working like a scientist who has collected a vast number of specimens, and is deducing principles from them. But the fact is, he was always working like an artist, seizing every suggestion of experience and observation, turning it to the utmost account, piecing it out by his invention, building it up into a structure of fiction where its origin was lost to all but himself, and often even to himself. He supposed that he was recording and classifying, but he was creating and vivifying. Within

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the bounds of his epical scheme, which was always factitious, every person was so natural that his characters seemed like the characters of biography rather than of fiction. One does not remember them as one remembers the characters of most novelists. They had their being in a design which was meant to represent a state of things, to enforce an opinion of certain conditions; but they themselves were free agencies, bound by no allegiance to the general frame, and not apparently acting in behalf of the author, but only from their own individuality. At the moment of reading, they make the impression of an intense reality, and they remain real, but one recalls them as one recalls the people read of in last week's or last year's newspaper. What Zola did was less to import science and its methods into the region of fiction, than journalism and its methods; but in this he had his will only so far as his nature of artist would allow. He was no more a journalist than he was a scientist by nature; and, in spite of his intentions and in spite of his methods, he was essentially imaginative and involuntarily creative.

VI

To me his literary history is very pathetic. He was bred if not born in the worship of the romantic, but his native faith was not proof against his reason, as again his reason was not proof against his native faith. He preached a crusade against romanticism, and fought a long fight with it, only to realize at last that he was himself too romanticistic to succeed against it, and heroically to own his defeat. The hosts of romanticism swarmed back over him and his followers, and prevailed, as we see them still prevailing. It was the error of the realists whom Zola led, to suppose that people like truth in fiction better than falsehood; they do not; they like falsehood best; and if Zola had not been at heart a romanticist, he never would have cherished his long delusion, he never could have deceived with his vain hopes those whom he persuaded to be realistic, as he himself did not succeed in being.

He wished to be a sort of historiographer writing the annals of a family, and painting a period; but he was a poet, doing far more than this, and contributing to creative literature as great works of fiction as have been written in the epic form. He was a paradox on every side but one, and that was the human side, which he would himself have held far worthier than the literary side. On the human side, the civic side, he was what he wished

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to be, and not what any perversity of his elements made him. He heard one of those calls to supreme duty, which from time to time select one man and not another for the response which they require; and he rose to that duty with a grandeur which had all the simplicity possible to a man of French civilization. We may think that there was something a little too dramatic in the manner of his heroism, his martyry, and we may smile at certain turns of rhetoric in the immortal letter accusing the French nation of intolerable wrong, just as, in our smug Anglo-Saxon conceit, we laughed at the procedure of the emotional courts which he compelled to take cognizance of the immense misdeed other courts had as emotionally committed. But the event, however indirectly and involuntarily, was justice which no other people in Europe would have done, and perhaps not any people of this more enlightened continent.

The success of Zola as a literary man has its imperfections, its phases of defeat, but his success as a humanist is without flaw. He triumphed as wholly and as finally as it has ever been given a man to triumph, and he made France triumph with him. By his hand, she added to the laurels she had won in the war of American Independence, in the wars of the Revolution for liberty and equality, in the campaigns for Italian Unity, the imperishable leaf of a national acknowledgment of national error.

W. D. Howells.

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COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

A HALF-WAY HOUSE TO SOCIALISM?

BY J. A. HOBSON, AUTHOR OF "THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN CAPITALISM," "THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED," "THE ECONOMICS OF DISTRIBUTION," ETC.

THE once familiar view that the public has no right to intervene in a quarrel between capital and labor, and that the only duty of the state is to keep a clear ring so that the combatants may settle the business without external interference, now probably commands few adherents. Several conditions, usually present in a grave industrial conflict, strike or lockout, clearly implicate the public as a third party not indifferent to the encounter. In the first place, such a conflict, commonly attended by violent local disorder and peril to life and property, imposes upon the public the right and the duty to abate a public nuisance, and to make provision against dangerous breaches of the public peace. The admitted claim of either of the two contending parties to the protection of the public force during the course of the conflict, involves some corresponding control of the public over the conduct of an industry calculated to bring about such breaches of the peace. Again, since the close organic relations between various trades scattered over the whole field of industry enable the capital and labor of any important single industry, by a sudden suspension of activity or by any other violent change, in the determination of which the related industries have no voice, to inflict heavy damage upon these innocent industries, the latter are entitled to call upon the public to protect them. This is the social or public aspect of so-called "private" industry, from the standpoint of the producer.

Last, not least, the public, in its capacity of consumer, realizing

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its complete dependence for the physical necessaries and conveniences of the common life upon the peaceful, regular and efficient conduct of these private industries, insists that this public interest carries with it certain rights of government. This doctrine does not involve any revolutionary interference with or diminution of rights of individual or corporate property; it simply asserts the existence of certain restrictions upon the abuse of property, in cases where a clear public interest in the proper use has in fact grown up.

In a pamphlet discussing the legal aspects of the Coal Problem, Mr. H. W. Chaplin, of the Massachusetts Bar, quotes principles and adjudged cases from the English and American courts, already establishing the validity of these legal rights of the public which arise out of interests grown up from the habit of dependence upon the continuance and usual conduct of a private business. The broad doctrine of the public right in private property is thus summarized in a judgment delivered by Chief-Justice Waite of the Supreme Court of the United States:

"Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and to affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has thus created. He may withdraw his grant by discontinuing the use; but so long as he maintains the use, he must submit to the control."

Statute law has embodied this principle of public control over private business where the public has acquired such interest, not only in the familiar cases of carriers and inn-keepers, but in many modern instances.

Since these several public interests thus carry rights of compulsion over private businesses which disregard the public welfare, that compulsion may be exercised in various ways; by public assumption and administration, by continuous public supervision and control in matters directly affecting the public interest, or by occasional interference such as is involved in compulsory arbitration.

The right of the public to compel capitalists and laborers to arbitrate such quarrels as involve injury to the public welfare is the least radical, the least "socialistic," of these three methods.

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Not only in the United States, but in the more advanced industrial nations of Europe, public opinion is setting more strongly in this direction every year. Now that combination is everywhere displacing competition alike in capital and in labor, the old *laissez faire* individualism is perforce abandoned, and state compulsory arbitration is accepted as the most practicable compromise with the spirit of socialism. The objections of economic and political theorists are not likely to prove formidable obstacles to its adoption. But two questions still demand consideration. Is it really practicable? Can we really graft a sprig of socialism on to the old competitive system, so that it will live?

The difference between voluntary and compulsory arbitration is in truth a vital one. The former is at root a matter of individual intelligence and good-will; it presents no substantial economic difficulty. But the forcible intervention of a public authority in a quarrel between operators and operatives as to the price at which the latter shall sell their labor-power, or as to any other conditions of the industry which affect the cost or production of commodities, appears, in theory at any rate, to entail quite revolutionary consequences. "If the state," it may be urged, "is empowered to settle the price which the operators shall pay for labor power, and in other ways to determine the cost of producing the commodities they supply, it may so damage the 'freedom' of industry and so impair the profits of capital as to crush the industry." "If it is the business of the state to secure a 'living wage' for labor, it must also guarantee a living profit for capital." This sounds only fair. But if the state may thus fix the whole cost of production, it does in fact dictate selling prices; and if it does this for one trade, it must soon be called upon to do it for other trades, for the selling prices of one trade will vitally affect the health of other trades. So we shall soon be brought to a condition in which the state will be fixing wages, interest and prices all over the field of industry. It will then be found that state-fixture of prices is invalidated in one of two ways: either it is met by generally adopted methods of evasion, or, if rigidly enforced, it inhibits altogether the adaptation of supply to demand in the market. If compulsory arbitration virtually fixes the selling price for cotton or coal, it either fixes that price above the "free competitive" prices or below. If it fixes the price above, it secures a "living wage" and profit for the

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worst placed or worst equipped mill or mine at the cost of an unearned surplus which goes as profit or as wage to the more efficient mills and mines; if it fixes the price below, it exterminates the worst placed or worst equipped establishments and secures a monopoly of trade for the survivors.

The logic of these objections may sound invincible, but the advocates of compulsory arbitration tell us that industry is not run by logic; "the half-way house to socialism," they aver, is proved by experience to be tenable.

The evidence upon which they rely is drawn from recent experiments in New Zealand. During the early nineties, that colony was shaken by labor disturbances which brought it to the verge of civil war; the great maritime strike of 1890 was followed by threats of industrial conflict in the railroads and in several leading manufactories. Stimulated by the extremity of the danger, Mr. Reeves, the newly appointed minister of labor, set himself to study the various schemes of conciliation and arbitration operative in England, on the Continent of Europe and in the United States. The general result of his study was a conviction of the inadequacy of voluntary arbitration; it could settle small strikes, it could not settle large ones. The strongest corroboration of this view was furnished by the recent experience of New South Wales, when the passing of a Voluntary Arbitration Act was followed, almost at once, by the three most disastrous strikes which that colony had ever experienced, the Coal Miners' Strike, the Broken Hill Strike, and the Shearers' Strike. As the result of his investigations, Mr. Reeves drafted a law which, after three rejections by the upper house of legislature, was placed upon the Statute Book in 1894, and has remained in operation since that date. This law has in point of fact substituted the atmosphere and the judgment of a civil tribunal for the appeal to force involved in the strike and the lockout. The New Zealand Compulsory Arbitration Act divides the country into industrial districts. In each district, a Board of Conciliation is provided, consisting of from four to six members duly elected by the associations of employers and of employees, with a chairman elected from outside. These boards of conciliation have full power of inquiring into any industrial issue brought before them; they can visit any premises, compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents. They act as Courts of First Instance in investigation and

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mediation. They can make awards, but they are not empowered to enforce these awards; and in all important cases the successful party before the Board is obliged to have recourse to the Court of Arbitration. The following summary of the powers of this Court is given by Mr. H. D. Lloyd in his book, "A Country without Strikes."

"The Court of Arbitration is a court with ordinary and extraordinary powers. It can summon any party to a dispute which is before it to appear, and, if he refuses, it can proceed without him. It can enter and investigate any premises and question any persons there without warrant. It can permit any party who might appear to have a common interest in the matter to be joined in the proceedings. It can receive such evidence as it thinks fit, 'whether strictly legal evidence or not.' It has the power of other magistrates to take evidence at a distance. None of its awards can be set aside for any informality; it is required that they be not framed in a technical manner. They cannot be 'challenged, appealed against, reviewed, quashed or called in question by any court of judicature on any account whatsoever.' The Court is directed to make its decision 'in such manner as they find to stand with equity and good conscience.' The Court consists of three persons appointed by the Governor-general for a period of three years, one of them chosen from nominees of the employers, one from nominees of the workmen, and the third a judge of the Supreme Court. The real determination of an issue is thus vested in a judge supported by two assessors versed in the technicalities of the issues at stake. In cases of special complexity, two other experts may be chosen by the parties to act as additional members of the court, and this course is frequently adopted.

The Court and the Board have no power to intervene in a dispute of their own making; but if either of the disputants wishes to arbitrate instead of fighting, the other is not permitted to refuse this peaceful settlement. As soon as either party with a grievance likely to cause trouble appeals to the Court or the Board, it becomes a punishable offence for the workmen to stop work or for the employers to lock them out. Work must continue until the final award is given. The law even goes further, and forbids a strike or a lockout caused through either party seeking to avoid in advance an appeal to the Court.

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The first object and result of Compulsory Arbitration, then, is to prevent the friction, waste and public disorder of stoppages of industry.

The successful operation of the legal process requires that the two parties shall be substantial and responsible bodies. It is, therefore, confined to trades in which trade unions and employers' unions exist. Every facility is accorded for the formation of such unions, for any seven workers in a trade may form a union, while two employers may constitute a union on the side of capital. Trade unions as well as employers' associations are incorporated and registered; they can sue and be sued, can recover subscriptions by process of law and can buy or lease land. One distinction, however, is drawn. "Employers can summon their workmen only as members of a trade union, but the men can call on individual employers as well as associations of employers; otherwise, these could defeat the Act by refusing to organize into associations." The action of a union involves not merely the members of that union but outside workmen in the award, the main object of the procedure being to establish, alike in the case of employers and employed, a common rule throughout the trade. Thus, even if the main body of the workmen of a trade were opposed to arbitration, and sought to evade the operation of the law by refusing to organize, their object could be defeated by any seven members in their trade, who, by forming a union on their own account, could bring the entire trade within the provisions of the law. Thus, on the initiative of a minority of either side, the substitution of law for force in a quarrel is made compulsory; the court has compulsory powers to secure all requisite evidence, and, finally, can compel by process of heavy and repeated fines the adoption of its award.

Mr. Lloyd claims complete success for the operation of the Compulsory Arbitration Law, and his claim is endorsed by the able French economist, M. Métin, sent over to make a study of the new legislation in Australasia, who gives a most favorable account of the results in his "*Socialisme sans Doctrines.*"

The Premier of New Zealand, addressing a meeting of British mine owners, presented the case in language which has a peculiar interest for America at the present juncture.

"With us a strike of the miners is impossible, as it is also impossible for the owner of the mine to shut down. That is a condition of

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things which does not prevail anywhere else. There is a safe-guard for you. The result has been this, that even the employers, who were the first to object to the legislation, are to-day the strongest in favor of it, because, when they have strikes of any kind where there is a large amount of capital involved, the effect of that capital being laid up for weeks and exactions being demanded which that capital could not bear, would be as disastrous as it would be to our mining. The law, as it now stands, has prevented disputes, which, if there had been an industrial struggle, must have meant a loss of about a million of money to us as a small community, whereas the whole cost of the proceedings, and the whole thing summed up, would not amount to £1,000."

Finally, I may put in evidence the quite recent judgment of one of the ablest and most experienced English labor leaders, Mr. Tom Mann, who has made a close investigation of the working of the Act upon the spot. "I do not think any serious dissatisfaction exists, either on the side of employers or workers, in more than half a dozen cases in the whole colony, and seeing that up to June of last year 310 cases had been dealt with under the Act, this proportion is very small." Mr. Mann's general conclusion that "there are fewer stoppages of work in this colony than in any other country arising from industrial disputes," deserves to be put upon record.

Are there any circumstances in New Zealand specially favorable to the experiment which require us to be cautious in accepting it as conclusive proof of the universal efficacy of compulsory arbitration as a panacea for industrial strife? It is admitted that two favorable conditions are present. In the first place, the period during which the Act has been operative has been one of unusual industrial prosperity, which, even without the Act, might have brought high wages, good profits and general contentment. In most cases, the workmen have got from the Court an award of higher wages and shorter hours, which, it is argued, they might have got without the Court, by ordinary process of individual or collective bargaining. It is the lean years that will test the workmen's confidence in the Act, and those years, some suggest, are now beginning. Critics point also to South Australia, where a similar act, more recently put on the Statute Book, has hitherto remained almost a dead letter. It is certainly reasonable to expect that, when the judgments of the Court demand a wide and general reduction of wages, the ignorant majority of the workers are likely to kick against the compulsion and possibly to use their

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political power to secure its repeal. The experience of voluntary schemes of profit-sharing favors this view; in bad years, when there are no profits to furnish bonuses on wages, these schemes for harmonizing capital and labor go over like ninepins.

Again, New Zealand is a very small state, with a population not more than half that of Philadelphia; it contains no great modern manufacturing industries, with their complex conditions and their overlapping and discordant interests. Where small numbers of employers and well-demarcated trades exist, such a law will be far easier of administration than in great industrial countries, such as the United States or Great Britain. It is clear that the structure and technical conditions of industry in these latter countries will render such an act much more difficult to work.

Again, the success of every new law depends absolutely upon the confidence reposed in its justice and efficiency by those whom it primarily affects. In the United States as in Great Britain, the "individualism" alike of employers and workers, though less rigorous than formerly, is still strong enough to prove a formidable obstacle to the success of compulsory arbitration. The grave difficulties in adopting and administering such a law as the Inter-State Commerce Act are at least as much economic as political; and in England both individual employers and associations of employers still look askance at the very moderate powers of conciliation vested in the Board of Trade. Nor can it be said that the laboring classes, in their capacity of producers, are generally inclined towards state compulsion as a mode of settling their quarrels with employers. More than one of the most experienced labor leaders in America assure me that the workmen as a whole would be dead against the policy, partly because it would hamper the liberty to work out their own industrial salvation, partly from their distrust of judges and courts, who they think would be biased, and when necessary bought, by the capitalist interests. British working-class sentiment is not, I think, so strongly set against compulsory arbitration: at the well-attended Trades Unions Congress this fall, a large minority voted in favor of the principle. But the majority which rejected it represented in the main the older, stronger and abler unions; and though the flavor of State Socialism which inheres in the principle attracts many of the "new" and more advanced unions, the backbone of trade unionism in the country stiffens itself against the measure.

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Distrust of "class" judges, connected by birth, interest and sympathy with the employing order, is the argument most in vogue among opponents of the scheme. This is, perhaps, stronger in England than in America, where the popular vote has an influence, direct or indirect, on the election of judges. The stronger sense of a "*klassen-kampf*" which prevails in England, and the deeper social cleavage between the "classes" and the "masses," lend great weight to this argument. It is not possible to rely upon getting a just administration of laws affecting the relations of employers and employed in England; for, though there is little or no direct corruption of magistrates, the class bias is ever present and commonly prevails. In America, however, the larger popular control in the election of judges may, as a guarantee of justice and efficiency, be largely if not entirely offset by the domination of the machine and the spoils system in politics. It is commonly averred that workmen in Pennsylvania would have, and ought to have, no confidence in their ability to get justice before the District Courts of Common Pleas, in cases where the interests of great corporations were at stake. The trade-unionist attitude, in England, however, cannot be understood without taking into account the fact that compulsory arbitration implies the definite incorporation of trade unions as legal companies liable to be sued for the action of all persons who can be represented as their agents. The legal status since 1872 of a trade union has, until just recently, been held to relieve it from this liability to be sued in civil courts, and though the recent Taff Vale judgment has in a measure broken down this immunity, the more substantial trade unions are still reluctant to expose their funds to litigation, such as would be likely to occur if a formal incorporation under the Companies Act were forced upon them. If, as seems likely, despite their reluctance, their present anomalous status is removed, and incorporation made compulsory, a powerful objection against State Arbitration will be removed; and a strong movement in favor of this measure will probably spread among the British working classes, who are beginning to realize their impotence in fighting, with their small financial reserves, against the indefinitely large reserves of powerful Federations of Employers.

But, though it seems possible that in Great Britain, if not in America, a genuine impetus in favor of compulsory arbitration

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as a means of saving the waste of war, may come from the side of the producers, it is far more probable that it will arise from the revolt of the "public" in its capacity of "consumer."

Just in proportion as combinations of capital so develop as to obtain effective control of certain fundamental industries engaged in supplying necessaries of life to the consuming public, their chronic power to tax this public by raising prices will be a continual irritant; this irritation will be fanned into exasperation by the spasmodic resistance of the employees of the "combination" to oppression, or else by an attempt on the part of the employees to coerce the combination into letting them "go halves" in milking the public cow, a policy which will periodically lead to strikes or lockouts. As "concentration of capital" fastens itself more firmly upon a larger number of the great routine industries, these crises will be likely to be more frequent. Each, when it occurs, will be a sharp lesson in the essentially "social" character of private industries, and no theoretic objections to socialism will, in the long run, keep the consuming public from insisting that its security and convenience shall be safeguarded by whatever remedies are needed to protect it against stoppages of industries due to faction fights of rival producing interests.

The consumers are, by reason of the individualistic nature of "consumption," unorganized, but they need not remain so; for they are also citizens, and, however slow-witted, they cannot fail to learn how to use the franchise and the machinery of state which belong to them, in the defence of their vital economic interests.

Whether this will lead to the general adoption of state control in fixing minimum rates of wages, maximum working days and other elements of a "common rule" for the several industries, and even force on a public regulation of prices for commodities, in extension of the policy of fixing railroad rates and cab fares, it is needless to discuss. The logic of "the thin end of the wedge," though it may deter during the preliminary stages of reflection, never finally prevents the adoption of an obvious method of escape from an intolerable predicament. Nor will any speculation as to possible future perils be likely to prevent the consumer-citizens of modern industrial states from seeking the experimental shelter of this half-way house to socialism.

J. A. Hobson.

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IS IT PEACE?

BY F. W. REITZ, FORMERLY SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE LATE SOUTH-AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

ON the 31st of May, 1902, at eleven o'clock at night, a document was signed at Pretoria, in the Transvaal, by Lords Kitchener and Milner, acting on behalf of the British Government on the one side, and by the members of the Governments and the Generals of the two Republics of South Africa, on the other.

This document, known as the "Articles of Peace," but which should more properly be named the "Articles of Surrender," sets forth that the Signatories, being desirous to terminate the present hostilities, agree on the following articles:

"1. The Burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles and munitions of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from any further resistance to the authority of His Majesty King Edward VII., whom they recognize as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, Assistant-Commandant-General De la Rey and Chief-Commandant De Wet.

"2. All Burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal or Orange River Colony, and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa who are Burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII., be gradually brought back to their homes, as soon as transport can be provided and their means of subsistence insured.

"3. The Burghers so surrendering, or so returning, will not be deprived of their personal liberty or their property.

"4. No proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against any of the Burghers surrendering, or so returning, for any acts in connection with the prosecution of the war. The benefit of this clause will not extend to certain acts, contrary to usages of war, which have been notified by the Commander-in-Chief to the Boer Generals, and which shall be tried by Court-Martial immediately after the close of hostilities.

"5. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Trans-

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vaal and Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in Courts of law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

"6. The possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection, on taking out a license according to law.

"7. Military administration in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will, at the earliest possible date, be succeeded by Civil Government, and, as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced.

"8. The question of granting franchise to the natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

"9. No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

"10. As soon as conditions permit, a commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under the Presidency of a Magistrate or other official, for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes, and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide themselves with food, shelter and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations.

"His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these Commissions a sum of £3,000,000 for the above purposes, and will allow all notes issued under Law I. of 1900 of the South-African Republic, and all receipts given by officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a Judicial Commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this Commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations, they will be received by the first-named Commissions as evidence of war losses, suffered by the persons to whom they were originally given.

"In addition to the above-named free grant of £3,000,000, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances on loans, for the same purposes, free of interest for two years, and afterwards repayable over a period of years with three per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to the benefit of this clause."

Alongside of these articles there lay the following document presented by the British Representatives:

"Lord Milner to Chamberlain
"Parliamentary Paper, South Africa, Cd 1,096.

"After handing to Boer delegates a copy of draft agreement which His Majesty's Government are prepared to approve with a view of terminating the present hostilities, I read to them the following statement and gave them a copy:

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"'His Majesty's Government must place it on record that the treatment of Cape and Natal Colonists who have been in rebellion and who now surrender will, if they return to their Colonies, be determined by the Colonial Governments and in accordance with the laws of the Colonies, and that any British subjects who have joined the enemy will be liable to trial under the law of that part of the British Empire to which they belong.

"'His Majesty's Government are informed by the Cape Government that the following are their views as to the terms which should be granted to British subjects of Cape Colony who are now in the field, or who have surrendered, or have been captured since 12th April, 1901:

"'With regard to rank and file, they should all, upon surrender, after giving up their arms, sign a document before the Resident Magistrate of the district in which the surrender takes place, acknowledging themselves guilty of high-treason, and the punishment to be awarded to them, provided they shall not have been guilty of murder or other acts contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, should be that they shall not be entitled for life to be registered as voters or to vote at any Parliamentary, Divisional Council, or Municipal elections. With reference to Justices of the Peace and Field Cornets of Cape Colony and all other persons holding an official position under the Government of Cape Colony, or who may occupy the position of Commandant of rebel or burgher forces, they shall be tried for high-treason before the ordinary Court of the country or such Special Court as may be hereafter constituted by law, the punishment for their offence to be left to the discretion of such Court, with this proviso, that in no case shall penalty of death be inflicted.

"'The Natal Government are of opinion that rebels should be dealt with according to the law of the Colony.'"

In addition to this, both Lords Kitchener and Milner solemnly promised—and that promise had been conveyed by the Boer Generals to the sixty Delegates of the People assembled at Vereeniging on the Vaal—that, at the Coronation of King Edward VII., they would do their best to persuade the King to exercise his prerogative of Pardon, and grant a general Amnesty to the Cape Rebels.

Before signing the ten Articles, the Signatories on the part of the Republics handed in a Protest—for a Protest it was, to all intents and purposes—against this so-called Peace.

The British Ministry have carefully refrained from publishing this document, and their reason for so refraining is not far to seek.

This Protest runs as follows:

"This meeting of representatives of the People of the South-African

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Republic and the Orange Free State, held at Vereeniging from the 15th of May, 1902, to the 31st of May, 1902, has learnt with regret of the proposal made by His Majesty's Government in regard to the cessation of existing hostilities, and of the intimation that this proposal must be accepted or rejected in an unaltered form.

"The meeting regrets that His Majesty's Government has absolutely refused to negotiate with the Governments of the Republics upon the basis of our independence, or to permit our Governments to enter into communication with our Deputation.

"Our peoples have indeed always thought that, not only on the ground of Right, but also on the ground of the great material and personal sacrifices that they have made for their Independence, they have a just claim to such Independence.

"This meeting has earnestly taken into consideration the condition of Land and People, and has more especially taken into account the following facts:

"1. That the Military tactics pursued by the British Military Authorities has led to the entire ruin of the territory of both the Republics, with burning of farms and towns, destruction of all means of subsistence and exhaustion of all sources necessary for the support of our families, for the maintenance of our forces in the field, and for the continuation of the war.

"2. That the placing of our captured families in the Concentration Camps has led to an unprecedented condition of suffering and disease, so that, within a comparatively short time, about 20,000 of those dear to us have perished there, and the horrible prospect has arisen that by continuing the war our entire race might be exterminated.

"3. That the Kaffir tribes within and without the borders of the territories of both Republics are almost all armed and take part in the struggle against us, and by perpetrating murders and committing all kinds of horrors, an impossible state of affairs has been brought about in many districts of both Republics—an instance of which took place lately in the district of Vryheid, where 56 Burghers were murdered and mutilated in a shocking manner, at the same time.

"4. That by Proclamations of the enemy, which he has already carried into effect, the Burghers still in the field are threatened with loss of all the movable and immovable property, and so with total ruin.

"5. That, through the circumstances of the war, it has already long ago become impossible for us to retain the many thousands of prisoners of war taken by our forces, and that we thus could do but comparatively little damage to the British troops, whilst our Burghers captured by the British are sent abroad, and that, after the war has raged for nearly three years, there remains only a small portion of the forces with which we entered into the war.

"6. That this remnant still in the field, which forms but a small minority of our entire people, has to contend against overwhelming odds, and, moreover, has reached a condition virtually amounting to famine and want of the necessary means of subsistence—and that, notwith-

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standing our utmost endeavors and the sacrifice of all that we value and hold dear, we cannot reasonably expect a successful issue.

"This meeting is, therefore, of opinion that there is no reasonable ground for thinking that, by continuance of the war, our People will retain the possession of its Independence, and considers that, under the circumstances, the People are not justified in carrying on the war any longer, as that can alone tend to bring about the social and material destruction, not only of ourselves, but also of our descendants.

"Urged by the above-mentioned circumstances and motives, this meeting authorizes both Governments to accept the Proposal of His Majesty's Government, and on behalf of the People of both Republics to sign the same.

"This Meeting of Delegates expresses the confident hope that the conditions which have now been called into being by adopting the Proposal of His Majesty's Government, may soon be ameliorated in such a way that our Nation may thereby attain the enjoyment of those privileges to which it considers that, not only on account of its past, but also on the ground of its sacrifices in the course of this war, it can justly lay claim.

"This meeting has noted with satisfaction the resolution of His Majesty's Government to grant a large measure of amnesty to those British subjects who took up arms on our side, and to whom we are bound by the ties of blood and honor, and expresses the hope that it may please His Majesty to extend this amnesty still further."

If, with these documents and these facts before me, I am asked: Is it Peace? I distinctly and unreservedly would answer: No!

It may be the much vaunted "*Pax Britannica,*" but it is not Peace in the ordinary and honest meaning of the word.

To use the words of Holy Writ reverently but secularly, it may be "a Peace that passeth all understanding," but it is not a Peace that should be regarded as a lasting one, or as one binding upon the consciences of those men who, to save the remnant of their wives and children, signed it—signed it, so to speak, with the knife at their throats.

The writer of this article desires to have it clearly understood that, in making this assertion, he is speaking neither for himself as one of the Signatories, nor for those of his nation who remain in South Africa as subjects of the British Crown.

He is not speaking for himself, because, before signing that document, he clearly intimated to Lord Kitchener in the presence of all who were sitting there, that he would only sign upon the clear understanding that it was in his representative, and not in his individual, capacity that he was signing; and Lord Kitchener unreservedly accepted that condition.

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He is not speaking for his compatriots who may elect to remain in South Africa, and whose clear duty it is, so long as they are not unduly oppressed, to obey the laws of the government under which they live—"rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's."

He is speaking as a lawyer of many years' standing, who knows that a contract made under compulsion is not a binding contract.

It may be urged that this principle is not recognized in International Law; but that immediately suggests the question, What is International Law; and is there such a thing after all?

This war in South Africa has, amongst other important things, proved to the world that, "Geneva Conventions" and "Hague Conferences" to the contrary notwithstanding, International Law has come to mean nothing more than the "Law of the Strongest."

Moreover, the Terms of Peace and the solemn and undeniable promise of the British Representatives as regards a general Amnesty to Cape Rebels have been deliberately and scandalously broken, while the ink was hardly dry on the paper on which they were written.

Therefore, even if upon moral and legal grounds those Peace Articles were binding (which they are not) when they were signed, I would still maintain that, the one party to the agreement having broken its promises, the other party is thereby released.

Is this Peace?

No, it is not. And what is taking place in South Africa to-day, under the pettifoggingly vindictive and malicious rule of the two men who were chiefly responsible for the war—the British Secretary of State for the Colonies and his satellite, Lord Milner—fully confirms me in this view.

F. W. Reitz.

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PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF VIRCHOW.

BY KARL BLIND.

In this short and rapid sketch it is not, and could not possibly be my object to treat in any connected way of the political career and the matchless scientific merits of a man of such world-wide renown as Professor Rudolph Virchow, the famed Progressist leader and eminent pathologist. Volumes would be required for such a task. All I wish to do is to supply, in the shape of personal recollections, a number of much-forgotten or scarcely known facts that linger in my memory, or are brought vividly before me by a look at the correspondence I had with him for many years past. When the history of his life is some day written, perhaps they may serve as useful supplements.

I

Few outside of Germany probably know, and even in Germany the younger generation may be little aware of the part Virchow played in the revolution of 1848-49. In September of that year of universal upheaval, we had fought in the Black Forest for the establishment of a united German Commonwealth. Our proclamations, issued in the name of a Provisional Government, bore at the head the words, "*Deutsche Republic: Wohlstand, Bildung, Freiheit für Alle*" (German Republic: Material Welfare, Culture and Freedom for all). After we had tried to uphold these principles with arms in hand, but had been defeated in battle by overwhelming royalist forces, Virchow, at Berlin, actually employed, as his political device, in his speeches and writings, these very words "Material welfare, Culture and Freedom for All." He declared these demands to be "the only true guarantees for the lasting health of the nation."

It was a bold thing for him to do in the North. We in the

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South, having been overcome, had been put in chains, had been court-martialled, had narrowly escaped being shot or beheaded by the sword of the executioner, and we had only been freed after an eight months' incredibly cruel imprisonment in the casemates of the Fortress of Rastatt by a new revolutionary rising. All this might have been a warning to Virchow not to adopt the motto prefixed to our proclamations, lest he should be accused at Berlin of republican aspirations.

But he had seen in Silesia, and in the poor districts of the Spessart Forest, the fearful sufferings of the toiling masses from famine typhus; so he boldly agitated under a motto which was a terrifying one to the royal, aristocratic and capitalistic classes. He even embodied it in one of his medical essays, in which he dealt with the deplorable condition of the people of the Spessart. For many years afterwards he dwelt in the same spirit on what he called the urgent necessity of "Social Medicine."

This action of his was the first virtual link between the great scientist, the advanced Liberal leader, and myself, though I did not know him personally at the time, nor did I have any correspondence with him for years afterwards. His incisive and courageous utterances in those earlier days against princely tyranny and wrongful exploitation of the working classes, were of such a kind that they look in the light of the present time like strong revolutionary manifestoes.

When Virchow once sent verbal greetings to me through our common friend Dr. Schliemann, he specially impressed upon him the fact that I had come near being stretched on the sand heap by court-martial bullets. So the discoverer of Troy, Mykene, and Tiryns told me with a degree of curious interest. To me this reference of Virchow to long by-gone days sounded like a remembrance of his own early past, when he made our maxim in social politics his own.

Need I mention that a number of the foremost men in Germany in science, literature, poetry, philosophy and art were, in 1848-49, on the side of the national and democratic movement? Alexander von Humboldt marched in the grand funeral procession which conducted the bodies of those who had fallen on the barricades at Berlin to their last resting-place; the poets Uhland, Freiligrath, Kinkel; the philosophers Ludwig, Feuerbach, and Arnold Ruge; Gottfried Semper, the great architect; Richard

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Wagner and many others were implicated in the popular movement—a number of them becoming exiles. Had Wagner been caught at Dresden after the storming of the town by the Prussian troops, his fate would have been the same cruel one as that awarded to the members of the Provisional Government of Saxony, who for ten years or more were held in most inhuman captivity.

II

Virchow was punished for a while by being removed from his professorial chair at Berlin, and driven to accept a position at Wünzburg University in Bavaria. Some years afterwards, on his return to Berlin, he, as a leader of the Parliamentary Progressist party in Prussia, framed the programme which aimed at German unity. He and his friends laid emphasis on this German national character of their aims, whilst, even during the Revolution of 1848-49, the Parliament at Berlin had called itself "The Prussian National Assembly," as if the conglomerate of territories under the sceptre of the house of Hohenzollern constituted a special nation distinct from the German nation at large. In the same way, an Austrian Reichstag had sat in 1848 at Vienna. Yet at Frankfort there sat, at the same time, a "National German Assembly," in which Prussia as well as Austria was represented, together with all the minor German states.

It was this threefold parliamentary representation which, by the centrifugal tendencies of two of them, was in a large degree answerable for the final overthrow of the national cause.

The programme framed by Virchow declared that "the greatness of Prussia depended upon the unity of Germany." Prussia, it is true, was, according to that programme, to become "the central power, on the basis of a common national representation."

On this point, the democratic party of Germany no doubt joined issue with the Prussian Progressists. Being out-and-out anti-dynastic—that is, republican—it wished, to merge Prussia and the federal provinces of Austria, together with all the minor kingdoms and principalities, into a united Germany, with an elective, popular executive power at her head. The distinct view of the democratic party, for whose aims we worked, was that in this way only could the connection of the federal provinces of Austria, which had been an integral part of our older Empire and of our subsequent Bund, with the remainder of Germany be preserved. Any

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other procedure would lead to the separation or ejection of those important federal Austrian provinces from Germany. A dangerous increase of the influence of the Slav element in Austria, and, finally, of despotic Russian power in the southeast of Europe, would be the inevitable result. The events of 1866 have proved the correctness, at any rate, of this latter view.

Virchow and his friends, whilst aiming at German unity, with Prussia as the central power, struck out firmly for the establishment of parliamentary control and truly representative government, with ministerial responsibility, in Prussian home affairs. Out of this the great "constitutional conflict" arose, which in the early sixties seemed to bring matters to a crisis.

In the parliamentary discussions, and in that part of the press which was at Bismarck's command, there came then the fiercest attacks against the Progressist party as led by Virchow. A favorite trick was to identify that party with republicanism. The charge was an utterly false one; for, though among the Progressists there were a few men with a democratic past, and though among others of the same party there was no absolute opposition to the republican principle, taken in a philosophical or academic sense, it was an outrageous misstatement that the Prussian Progressists, officered by Virchow, were only "republicans in disguise." Their real object was constitutional, parliamentary government, especially as to full control of budget and army affairs, without which no such government is possible.

It was understood, and it naturally stands to reason, that republicans wished well to the Progressists in their struggle against budgetless autocratic régime. Many years afterwards, in 1876, when Bismarck was on the pinnacle of success, he himself, in replying to Virchow, said:

"For my part I have attained sufficient impartiality [*objektivität*] to be able fully to comprehend now the circle of ideas which moved the House of Deputies between 1862 and 1866. I acknowledge and I have all respect for the resolution with which the Prussian representatives of the people then upheld that which they considered to be the right. I reproach nobody for it. You could not know then the object which in my opinion government policy was to pursue, nor had I any security that that policy would really succeed. And you had also the right, even if I could have told you about our intentions, to answer that the constitutional principles of our country were of higher value to you than its foreign policy. Hence, I did not wish, at least I do not wish

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now to reproach any one, although in the passionate heat of the struggle I may not always have behaved in that way."

Quantum mutatus ab illo, who in 1865 challenged Virchow to a duel with pistols, on account of a speech of the latter in Parliament. One of the Liberal leaders, Twesten, a moderate man if ever there was one, had some time before been challenged by Herr von Manteuffel, and had his arm smashed by a bullet. Now Virchow, one of the most eminent scientific men of the whole civilized world, was invited to meet Bismarck in a duel. To cap the horrible absurdity, Bismarck, by letter to Virchow, informed the latter that the Minister of War would be one of his seconds, and this Minister of War actually appeared at Virchow's house in the latter's absence, to the utmost alarm of the great scientist's family.

To his credit, Virchow declined the challenge. He knew better than to expose his valuable life in this silly fashion. He did expose it, five years later, on a battlefield in France, when with his sons he fetched the wounded out of the range of action amidst the greatest risk.

III

The false charge of leading a party of "republicans in disguise" did not prevent Virchow from speaking out in favor of one who had become an exile for having fought in the cause of republicanism. It was on the occasion of a discussion of Schleswig-Holstein affairs in the Prussian House of Deputies in 1862. Of their own free will, the people of the Duchies had risen, in 1848, and established an army of their own. Forsaken by our princes, they were put back under the foreign yoke of Denmark, after having maintained a struggle for nearly three years. The disgrace of this issue was deeply felt by the German nation; but after the sanguinary orgies of reaction no hope appeared to exist for the "forsaken brethren in the North."

It was then that a propaganda of the Schleswig-Holstein cause was started by me in England, with the aid of a number of German exiles. By the "London Protocol" the fate of the Duchies had been sealed. London, therefore, was a natural centre of action. In 1848, after the disgraceful armistice of Malmö, which was brought about by Royal Prussian policy, we had risen in arms, in the South, by way of protest against this practical dereliction of the national cause. The day after the battle in which

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we were worsted, seven of our musicians, who had played the Schleswig-Holstein melody during the two hours' encounter at Staufen, were dragged forth from their hiding-place, and shot out of hand by the brutal victors. I never forgot them.

It is not the place here to mention what we did by numerous publications in English and German — occasionally, also, in French and Italian—to impress the English government, the two Houses of Parliament, the ambassadors and consuls, the editors of all the chief journals, and a number of notabilities in the United Kingdom, as well as to influence public opinion in our fatherland by a similar course of action. Time and money were freely spent for the Schleswig-Holstein cause.

It was then that Virchow, in the House of Deputies at Berlin, flinging a taunt at the Prussian government in his well-known incisive manner, exclaimed: "A single exile has done more for the Schleswig-Holstein cause than the whole diplomatic service of Germany." He mentioned the name of the writer of this present essay. I have always prized these words of his beyond any other recognition of services rendered to the national cause. It was in 1862 that this occurred—before there had been any contact between Virchow and me.

During the Polish insurrection against Russia in 1863-64, the sympathies of German Liberals and democrats were fully with that movement. It was supported, also, by the public opinion of England and France. There again the Progressist party, led by Virchow, stood on the side of freedom as against tyranny.

That Polish movement was planned and carried on on democratic lines. In London, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin and the present writer had been informed beforehand, by the confidential agent of the "Warsaw Committee," of the very day when the rising would take place. I may mention that Mazzini had by letter declared that it was inadvisable, in his opinion, to start armed action so soon. But the Recruitment Decree of the Czar, by which the whole able-bodied youth of Russian Poland were to be drafted out and to be sent to distant parts of the Empire, left the patriotic party no choice. It will be remembered what a long time it took Russia to quell that rising.

During this prolonged struggle, exiled German democrats were again at one with the political friends of Virchow. On its part, the Prussian government, under Bismarck's leadership, gave, on

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the contrary, active support to the Czar, against the Polish insurgents. Ferdinand Lassalle, who under Socialistic guise was in collusion and personal intercourse with Bismarck, issued a fly-sheet to deprecate German sympathies with that democratic rising, a procedure all the more remarkable, as many men of Jewish race, to which he himself belonged, were deeply involved in the insurrection.

It may be useful to record here, incidentally, that Lassalle, whilst describing the Hohenzollern dynasty in one of his speeches as a "true people's kingship," which, "with hand on sword would drive the *bourgeoisie* from the political stage by means of the introduction of universal suffrage," tried to enter at the same time into relations with Louis Blanc, the famed Socialist leader and historian of the great French Revolution. A letter from that French exile was to give Lassalle, so to say, a high standing in the eyes of the German working classes. Louis Blanc, an intimate friend of mine, consulted me on the point. I advised him not to reply, explaining to him the underhand connections of Lassalle. The result was that no answer was given from London to Berlin.

When Lassalle, later on, fell in a duel with a rival of his in a love affair, General Klapka, a common friend of his and mine, who had been Lassalle's second, gave me some noteworthy information. He told me that the Countess Hatzfeldt (Lassalle's intimate friend since the forties, when he aided her in her divorce law suit) had said to him (Klapka): "Had Lassalle lived six months longer, he would have occupied a place in the Prussian government."

Lassalle's fellow-worker and testamentary executor, the renegade ex-democrat Lothar Bucher, became, it will be remembered, the appointed tool of Bismarck, whom he served in the most unscrupulous manner, attacking under an assumed mask former political associates with craftily concocted falsehoods. I can speak on this point from sad personal experience. It was only after the death of Bucher that some of those disreputable actions of his came to light. Among his posthumously published writings one was unwarily included which he had issued under a mask in the "Grenzboten," a magazine of which Dr. Busch, Bismarck's Boswell, was editor for some time. When, during Bucher's lifetime, the then anonymous calumniator was publicly declared and

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proved in the Berlin "*Vossische Zeitung*" to be a liar, he kept perfectly still, not saying a word in reply. After his death, the editor of his pamphlets did him unconsciously a bad disservice, for the man's knavery then became patent.

IV

It will be remembered that, in the years immediately following the war with France, which had been carried on with the enthusiastic aid of the Liberal party of Germany, Bismarck seemed to turn over a new leaf for a while. It was in those years that the Kulturkampf arose against Papal and hierarchic pretensions. In that struggle, Virchow, the free-thinking scientist, gave hearty aid. It was he, even, who had coined the word Kulturkampf—that is, the fight of civilization against clerical obscurantism. In those days, also, Bismarck made to Virchow the honorable "apology" I have already quoted.

But soon the Imperial Chancellor forsook the cause he had espoused. Though he had boasted he would "never go to Canossa," he practically did, reversing his anti-clerical policy, and resuming, too, his dictatorial manners toward the Liberal representatives of the people. In Virchow, however, he had henceforth once more a determined opponent.

Unfortunately, there came an increasing disruption in the forces of the Opposition; split into contending groups, it was unable to act with any efficiency. There were ominous signs of disintegration, even among the numerically diminished "*Fortschritte Partei*" (Progressist party) whose head Virchow was.

Under these circumstances it seemed to me that the only hope was in the foundation of a new party of wider scope, in which minor differences would be merged, at least for the time being, so as to present a united front to the anti-constitutional dictatorship. In an appeal to that effect, which I made in the "*Vossische Zeitung*," I proposed for it the name "*Allgemeine Deutsche Freisinnige Partei.*" Though I held no direct communication on that subject with any members, the name *Freisinnige Partei* was, after a while, substituted for the old designation, "*Fortschritte Partei.*"

It would lead too far to enter into German politics in general on this present occasion; so I will only add, in order not to be misunderstood, that, as regards armament on land and on sea, I

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have never ceased, since the war so frivolously provoked by France, to acknowledge the seriousness of the situation of Germany, wedged in, on the West and the East, between two Powers of well-known aggressive tendencies. On this point, I have always gone by my own judgment as to our national interest, irrespective of party.

The creation of a German fleet had been strongly advocated by our Liberal and democratic parties, even before and during the revolution. A beginning was made in that direction by the German National Assembly in 1848, but what was accomplished was undone by the diet of kings and princes after the sanguinary overthrow of the national cause. They actually brought whatever men-of-war Germany possessed under the hammer. To me, cherishing the traditions of the Hanseatic league, a strong navy has always appeared an absolute necessity.

As to army affairs, whilst being, on principle, in favor of a militia system like the Swiss one, I could not, since 1870, but recognize that any disarmament such as Virchow had proposed before 1870, or any change of the whole military system, was unfortunately impossible now, so long as France and Russia retained their vast and threatening forces. Some recent speeches of General André, General Cuny, the Bishop of Nancy, and others are in this respect truly an evil sign. Those harangues are literally declarations of war, *in spe*, against Germany. They prove, to the dismay of all friends of humanity, of whom Virchow was one of the noblest, and with all the ordinary coolness of his judgment one of the most enthusiastic, that the time is yet far off when swords can be changed into ploughshares.

V

It only remains to say a few words about my frequent correspondence with Virchow on learned matters. It ranged over a great variety of subjects—the ethnology of the German race as evidenced by the color of the eyes, the hair and the skin, the statistics of which, by investigations made in schools, Virchow had first got up in a systematic manner; the apparently Aryan, even Germanic, kinship of the Ossetes in the Caucasus, where he was going to make inquiries; "Old Trojan tombs and skulls," the result of his co-operation with Schliemann; the Skythic remnants, found in the South-Russian barrows; the Weddahs of Cey-

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lon; prehistoric Egyptian anthropology, and kindred matters. On some of these subjects I had given my opinion in Schliemann's "Troja," in the London "Academy," in the monthly magazine "Time," and elsewhere. A number of his treatises and speeches Virchow was in the habit of sending to me. Whilst expressing his thanks for what I had written, he, with the most unselfish considerateness, added: "By all means I pray you not to think, when I send you such publications, that I ask for any notice or discussion; my sole object is, considering the wide horizon of your scientific interests, to express to you thereby how much I have it at heart to place these attempts of mine before you personally."

On Egyptian race questions, he had made a remarkable discovery, which Professor Sayce, in a letter to Virchow, the main contents of which the latter communicated to me, declared to be one of the most important for the earliest history of Egypt. Yet in England scarcely any notice was taken of what Virchow had written in his "Royal Mummies." He had shown there the strong contrast between the short-headedness of the Egyptians of the old kingdom, and the long-headedness of those of the later kingdom and of the present time. He was evidently surprised at, not to say pained by, the difficulty one met in making this discovery of his properly known in England, for which I had in vain exerted myself.

When he came to London to lecture, he very thoughtfully sent me, beforehand, from Berlin, cards of admission for my wife and myself. On one occasion, when we met after one of his lectures, of which he had sent me a proof in advance, my wife and I were much amused by the truly characteristic greeting he gave me. Heartily shaking hands, he looked over his spectacles, with the sharp glance of the anthropological scientist, and exclaimed with a kind of rapt utterance: "*Wahrhaftig, ein solcher Schädel kann viel aushalten*" ("truly such a skull can endure a great deal"). He referred to that of which he had told Schliemann when sending me friendly remembrances through him.

Virchow's lecture in London, before a meeting of the foremost scientific men of England, was to be followed by another oration of his at Cambridge, in celebration of Harvey, who is generally, but I believe erroneously, considered the first discoverer of the circulation of the blood. At a party given in honor of Virchow,

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on the eve of his departure for Cambridge, I took the opportunity of broaching the Harvey question in a conversation with Virchow. Now, though Harvey certainly worked out his doctrine most fully and irrefutably by scientific research, there were various predecessors of his who held that same view quite clearly. More than seventy years ago, Professor Hecker, at Berlin, who taught the history of the medical art at the University, already gave proofs of that fact. I have, myself, gone over the original sources, and found additional evidence in the writings of Leonardo da Vinci, and elsewhere. There can be no doubt that Harvey must have learned this same doctrine in Italy, where he had studied at the University of Padua. His merit, nevertheless, is that he made the deeper and wider investigations: the original discoverer he cannot justly be called. I will not say more here than that Virchow, in a conversation lasting nearly half an hour, endeavored with the utmost eagerness to convince me to the contrary. Finally he observed: "It might as well be contended, and it has even been contended, that the cellular doctrine was not my own." This hint, evidently, was directed against those who had pointed out that Schleiden before him had first applied a theory of that kind to plants, and that Schwann had followed with "Microscopical Inquiries as to the Harmony between the Structure and the Growth of Animals and Plants." Yet though this is so, the merit and glory of Virchow remains, that he has worked out a cellular doctrine of his own, rectifying erroneous notions of predecessors, and fully proving his axiom "*Omnis cellula e cellula.*"

It was, generally speaking, a prominent and excellent trait in Virchow's character that he kept his mind impartially open to anything he considered right or good, whatever country it came from. In this sense, whilst being a German patriot of unbending Liberal principles, he may be said to have been a truly international man—cosmopolitan in the best acceptation of the word. When in matters of sanitary import he found praiseworthy arrangements in this or that case, even in backward Russia, he hastened to proclaim the fact loudly enough, with his usual incisiveness of language. This was not done with the purpose of gaining favor abroad, but with the object of spurring his own countrymen to stronger exertion. His was a kind of "cold enthusiasm," as it has been called, and it often found utterance

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in sharp, even satirically bitter sayings, little relished by adversaries, time-serving trimmers and popularity hunters. Whilst in France, unfortunately, after the war so recklessly provoked by her, Chauvinist feelings and actions were for many years a deplorable feature, even in the scientific, literary and artistic world, which ought to form a republic of its own, including all civilized countries, Virchow steadfastly refused to countenance anti-French reprisals at home. His judgment of the political situation remained, however, unbiased. Thus the scientific interests he had in Russia did not make him forget the dangers threatening from that quarter the freedom, the independence and the civilization of European nations.

In 1876, when I foresaw the coming eruption of Russia in the direction of Constantinople, and wrote to Virchow to ask whether the German people could not be roused to a proper understanding of the situation, he answered: "Your observation as to the East is certainly very correct; nobody can feel it more painfully than I myself do, that our people, and even our Parliament, silently look at the tragedy which the Russians are enacting." He pleaded, in the same letter, the fact of his not being a member of the Reichstag, and his being so much engaged, with all the strength available to him, in scientific work, as causes preventing him from consecutive political action. He added that though he still attempted, now and then, to originate a political move, he was much hampered by the "wholly unjust assertion that he was a personal enemy of the Imperial Chancellor." Any fair-minded observer, I need not say, could not possibly have preferred such a charge against Virchow. His opposition was not a personal one, but founded on principle.

Whether scientific or political questions were at issue, Virchow always spoke his mind fearlessly, having only Truth and Right as his guides. Germany and the whole world are the poorer for the loss of such a man. At his death-bed, homage was done to him at last, even by those in high quarters who, during his laborious life-time had for so many years tried to leave him in the shade. His great fame had certainly never suffered from their pettiness.

KARL BLIND.

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VESALIUS IN ZANTE.

(1564)

BY EDITH WHARTON.

SET wide the window. Let me drink the day.
I loved light ever, light in eye and brain—
No tapers mirrored in long palace floors,
Nor dedicated depths of silent aisles,
But just the common dusty wind-blown day
That roofs earth's millions.
O, too long I walked
In that thrice-sifted air that princes breathe,
Nor felt the heaven-wide jostling of the winds
And all the ancient outlawry of earth!
Now let me breathe and see.
This pilgrimage
They call a penance—let them call it that!
I set my face to the East to shrive my soul
Of mortal sin? So be it. If my blade
Once questioned living flesh, if once I tore
The pages of the Book in opening it,
See what the torn page yielded ere the light
Had paled its buried characters—and judge!

The girl they brought me, pinioned hand and foot
In catalepsy—say I should have known
That trance had not yet darkened into death,
And held my scalpel. Well, suppose I *knew?*
Sum up the facts—her life against her death.
Her life? The scum upon the pools of pleasure
Breeds such by thousands. And her death? Perchance

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The obolus to appease the ferrying Shade,
And waft her into immortality.
Think what she purchased with that one heart-flutter
That whispered its deep secret to my blade!
For, just because her bosom fluttered still,
It told me more than many rifled graves;
Because I spoke too soon, she answered me,
Her vain life ripened to this bud of death
As the whole plant is forced into one flower,
All her blank past a scroll on which God wrote
His word of healing—so that the poor flesh,
Which spread death living, died to purchase life!

Ah, no! The sin I sinned was mine, not theirs.
Not *that* they sent me forth to wash away—
None of their tariffed frailties, but a deed
So far beyond their grasp of good or ill
That, set to weigh it in the Church's balance,
Scarce would they know which scale to cast it in.
But I, I know. I sinned against my will,
Myself, my soul—the God within the breast:
Can any penance wash such sacrilege?

When I was young in Venice, years ago,
I walked the hospice with a Spanish monk,
A solitary cloistered in high thoughts,
The great Loyola, whom I reckoned then
A mere refurbisher of faded creeds,
Expert to edge anew the arms of faith,
As who should say, a Galenist, resolved
To hold the walls of dogma against fact,
Experience, insight, his own self, if need be!
Ah, how I pitied him, mine own eyes set
Straight in the level beams of Truth, who groped
In error's old deserted catacombs
And lit his tapers upon empty graves!
Ay, but he held his own, the monk—more man
Than any laurelled cripple of the wars,
Charles's spent shafts; for what he willed he willed,
As those do that forerun the wheels of fate,

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Not take their dust—that force the virgin hours,
Hew life into the likeness of themselves
And wrest the stars from their concurrences.
So firm his mould; but mine the ductile soul
That wears the livery of circumstance
And hangs obsequious on its suzerain's eye.
For who rules now? The twilight-flitting monk,
Or I, that took the morning like an Alp?
He held his own, I let mine slip from me,
The birthright that no sovereign can restore;
And so ironic Time beholds us now
Master and slave—he lord of half the earth,
I ousted from my narrow heritage.

For there's the sting! My kingdom knows me not.
Reach me that folio—my usurper's title!
Fallopius reigning, *vice*—nay, not so:
Successor, not usurper. I am dead.
My throne stood empty; he was heir to it.
Ay, but who hewed his kingdom from the waste,
Cleared, inch by inch, the acres for his sowing,
Won back for man that ancient fief o' the Church,
His body? Who flung Galen from his seat,
And founded the great dynasty of truth
In error's central kingdom?
Ask men that,
And see their answer: just a wondering stare,
To learn things were not always as they are—
The very fight forgotten with the fighter;
Already grows the moss upon my grave!
Ay, and so meet—hold fast to that, Vesalius.
They only, who re-conquer day by day
The inch of ground they camped on over-night,
Have right of foothold on this crowded earth.
I left mine own; he seized it; with it went
My name, my fame, my very self, it seems,
Till I am but the symbol of a man,
The sign-board creaking o'er an empty inn.
He names me—true! *"Oh, give the door its due*
I entered by. Only, my masters, note,

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Had door been none, a shoulder-thrust of mine
Had breached the crazy wall"—he seems to say.
So meet—and yet a word of thanks, of praise,
Of recognition that the clue was found,
Seized, followed, clung to, by some hand now dust—
Had this obscured his quartering of my shield?

How the one weakness stirs again! I thought
I had done with that old thirst for gratitude
That lured me to the desert years ago.
I did my work—and was not that enough?
No; but because the idlers sneered and shrugged,
The envious whispered, the traducers lied,
And friendship doubted where it should have cheered,
I flung aside the unfinished task, sought praise
Outside my soul's esteem, and learned too late
That victory, like God's kingdom, is within.
(Nay, let the folio rest upon my knee.
I do not feel its weight.) Ingratitude?
The hurrying traveller does not ask the name
Of him who points him on his way; and this
Fallopius sits in the mid-heart of me,
Because he keeps his eye upon the goal,
Cuts a straight furrow to the end in view,
Cares not who oped the fountain by the way,
But drinks to draw fresh courage for his journey.
That was the lesson that Ignatius taught—
The one I might have learned from him, but would not—
That we are but stray atoms on the wind,
A dancing transiency of summer eves,
Till we become one with our purpose, merged
In that vast effort of the race which makes
Mortality immortal.
"He that loseth
His life shall find it": so the Scripture runs.
But I so hugged the fleeting self in me,
So loved the lovely perishable hours,
So kissed myself to death upon their lips,
That on one pyre we perished in the end—
A grimmer bonfire than the Church e'er lit!

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Yet all was well—or seemed so—till I heard
That younger voice, an echo of my own,
And, like a wanderer turning to his home,
Who finds another on the hearth, and learns,
Half-dazed, that other is his actual self
In name and claim, as the whole parish swears,
So strangely, suddenly, stood dispossessed
Of that same self I had sold all to keep,
A baffled ghost that none would see or hear!
"Vesalius? Who's Vesalius? This Fallopius
It is who dragged the Galen-idol down,
Who rent the veil of flesh and forced a way
Into the secret fortalice of life"—
Yet it was I that bore the brunt of it!

Well, better so! Better awake and live
My last brief moment, as the man I was,
Than lapse from life's long lethargy to death
Without one conscious interval. At least
I repossess my past, am once again
No courtier med'cining the whims of kings
In muffled palace-chambers, but the free
Friendless Vesalius, with his back to the wall
And all the world against him. O, for that
Best gift of all, Fallopius, take my thanks—
That, and much more. At first, when Padua wrote:
"Master, Fallopius dead, resume again
The chair even he could not completely fill,
And see what usury age shall take of youth
In honors forfeited"—why, just at first,
I was quite simply credulously glad
To think the old life stood ajar for me,
Like a fond woman's unforgetting heart.
But now that death waylays me—now I know
This isle is the circumference of my days,
And I shall die here in a little while—
So also best, Fallopius!
For I see
The gods may give anew, but not restore;
And though I think that, in my chair again,

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I might have argued my supplanters wrong
In this or that—this Cesalpinus, say,
With all his hot-foot blundering in the dark,
Fabricius, with his over-cautious clutch
On Galen (systole and diastole
Of Truth's mysterious heart!)—yet, other ways,
It may be that this dying serves the cause.
For Truth stays not to build her monument
For this or that co-operating hand,
But props it with her servants' failures—nay,
Cements its courses with their blood and brains,
A living substance that shall clinch her walls
Against the assaults of time. Already, see,
Her scaffold rises on my hidden toil,
I but the accepted premiss whence must spring
The airy structure of her argument;
Nor could the bricks it rests on serve to build
The crowning finials. I abide her law:
A different substance for a different end—
Content to know I hold the building up;
Though men, agape at dome and pinnacles,
Guess not, the whole must crumble like a dream
But for that buried labor underneath.
Yet, Padua, I had still my word to say!
Let others say it!—Ah, but will they guess
Just the one word—? Nay, Truth is many-tongued.
What one man failed to speak, another finds
Another word for. May not all converge
In some vast utterance, of which you and I,
Fallopius, were but halting syllables?
So knowledge come, no matter how it comes!
No matter whence the light falls, so it fall!
Truth's way, not mine—that I, whose service failed
In action, yet may make amends in praise.
Fabricius, Cesalpinus, say your word,
Not yours, or mine, but Truth's, as you receive it!
You miss a point I saw? See others, then!
Misread my meaning? Yet expound your own!
Obscure one space I cleared? The sky is wide,
And you may yet uncover other stars.

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For thus I read the meaning of this end:
There are two ways of spreading light; to be
The candle or the mirror that reflects it.
I let my wick burn out—there yet remains
To spread an answering surface to the flame
That others kindle.

Turn me in my bed.
The window darkens as the hours swing round;
But yonder, look, the other casement glows!
Let me face westward as my sun goes down.

EDITH WHARTON.

Note.—Vesalius, the great anatomist, studied at Louvain and Paris, and was called by Venice to the chair of surgery in the University of Padua. He was one of the first physiologists to dissect the human body, and his great work "The Structure of the Human Body" was an open attack on the physiology of Galen. The book excited such violent opposition, not only in the Church, but in the University, that in a fit of discouragement he burned his remaining manuscripts and accepted the post of physician at the Court of Charles V., and afterward of his son, Philip II. of Spain. This closed his life of free enquiry, for the Inquisition forbade all scientific research, and the dissection of corpses was prohibited in Spain. Vesalius sank into the rich and successful court physician, but regrets for his past life were never wholly extinguished, and in 1561 they were roused afresh by the reading of an anatomical treatise by Gabriel Fallopius, his successor in the chair at Padua. From that moment life in Spain became intolerable to Vesalius, and in 1563 he set out for the East. Tradition reports that this journey was a penance to which the Church condemned him for having opened the body of a woman before she was actually dead; but more probably Vesalius, sick of his long servitude, made the pilgrimage a pretext to escape from Spain.

Fallopius had meanwhile died, and the Venetian Senate is said to have offered Vesalius his old chair; but on the way home from Jerusalem he was seized with illness, and died at Zante in 1564.]

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AMBASSADOR WHITE'S WORK.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

If ever a retiring American diplomatist deserved the glorious cognomen of "Peace Preserver," Andrew D. White does. He seeks the shades of private life now at the rounding-out of the scriptural threescore-and-ten, content in the knowledge that but for him the peace between two great and powerful nations might have been broken and untold sacrifice in blood and treasure spilt. The day has come when this truth may, without endangering anew the amicable relations between Germany and the United States, be proclaimed in unfaltering accents. It was a Providential fact that the late President McKinley had intrusted the onerous and delicate position of Ambassador to the Court of Berlin to such a man as Mr. White, a man whose very personality makes for peace and conciliation, and whose indubitable sympathies for the German people, whose singular modesty, whose high standing for broad scholarship and whose self-sacrificing attitude towards education and research gave him, from the start, a hold upon the nation to which he was accredited far stronger than any other living American could have had. He went as *persona gratissima*, early in 1897, at a time when none but ordinary diplomatic complications had been foreshadowed. He had served, under Bismarck's all-powerful régime, as United States Minister, and had then acquired an enviable reputation as being prëeminently distinguished for that quality without which the ideal diplomat cannot be bred, the combination of the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*. Thus, with German prejudice, both official and unofficial, all in his favor, he quickly knew how to win over the impetuous successor to the mild old monarch he had known, and by the very law of contrast Kaiser William II. conceived a sincere liking and a genuine respect for him.

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Then the war with Spain broke out. To none did it come more unexpectedly than to Mr. White. Thorough man of peace as he is, 4,000 miles from the scene of events, gauging correctly Mr. McKinley's fervent desire to avoid bloodshed, it was a rude shock to his sensibilities and a painful surprise to him, when, after all, war had become unavoidable and hostilities actually commenced. I remember, during a conversation I had with Mr. White but a few weeks before the outbreak of the war, how he, with heart aflame, gave utterance to his conviction that no open hostilities would ensue, and how he, in support of his belief, related a little scene that had taken place between him and the President, during a short visit to Washington. Mr. McKinley had said to him on that occasion: "If I can help it, no war will come during my administration." And he told me other incidents illustrative of Mr. McKinley's earnest wish to settle amicably the complications with Spain.

But, war once declared, Mr. White rose instantly to the occasion, and his wisely and efficiently directed efforts, from first to last, in behalf of the strict and loyal maintenance of neutrality by Germany can hardly be valued too highly. With untiring vigilance he kept watch over American interests during those trying days at the beginning of the war, and made Count Bülow, then directing, under the Kaiser's personal guidance, Germany's foreign policy, "toe the mark," as it were. Not the slightest chance of serving his country escaped him. Not the minutest detail of his wide range of duties was neglected by him. I remember his passing sleepless nights in his anxiety to get the war-vessels hurriedly purchased by the United States on the very eve of the war, fully equipped and in time out of Stettin and Dantzic, and out of German waters on to the high seas, bound for an American harbor, and in his endeavors to prevent contraband of war leaving Hamburg and other German ports for Spain; and I recall distinctly how in every case he was successful.

The Fourth of July speech which Mr. White delivered that summer, at Leipzig, before an audience of American fellow-citizens assembled to celebrate the day, was a diplomatic deed of the greatest and most far-reaching importance.

Of the extent and depth of anti-American feeling at that time rampant in the Empire, it is not easy to give an adequate idea. Only those Americans who happened to be on German soil while

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the war lasted, and who understood the language and came in continual contact with the people and studied the press, were in a position to judge the situation fairly. There is a curious analogy between the state of German feeling then and during the British war in South Africa. In its essence it was identical in both cases. Enviousness was at the bottom of it. A latent dislike, bred by fierce commercial rivalry, had risen in lurid flame under the stress of novel and propitious conditions. Sympathy for the weaker combatant had likewise something to do with it, and so had other, though less potent, motives hidden away in the recesses of the German heart. But, whatever the causes, the sentiment was surprisingly strong and widely diffused. I remember that during the whole war there was, of the entire German press, but one journal of influence that was friendly to the United States, and that paper, to its lasting credit be it said, was the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* of Frankfort-on-Main, the fearless champion of South German democracy, owned and edited by a Jew. Nearly all the leading periodicals, too, showed distinct animosity towards the United States, the one conspicuous exception being another radical Liberal publication, Dr. Theodore Barth's *Die Nation.* In venom and bitterness, those political parties and organs which were closest to the government, the Conservatives and the Ultramontane Centre (the latter partly for religious reasons), were easily in the lead, and the chief Conservative organ, the "*Kreuzzeitung,*" read by the court (including the whole Imperial family), the army and the nobility, during the war paid a special correspondent in New York for scurrilously slandering and vilifying the nation and country which had extended cordial hospitality to him. His letters were read with avidity, reprinted extensively and formed a large part of the stock-in-trade employed in the wholesale abuse of everything American.

In the beginning of the war, no German statesman or general believed in initial or even ultimate American success, and that the American forces on land and sea were to meet great reverses at the hands of the Spaniards was a foregone conclusion with every class of Germans. Even the Kaiser, misled by his *entourage* and misinformed by his diplomatic representatives and military attachés, shared this belief at first, as I happen to know from an unexceptionable source. There was wild rejoicing throughout

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Germany at the prospect of a severe dose of humble-pie being forced down the throat of the hated Yankee.

If at that time this country had been represented in Berlin by a man possessing less of admirable tact, less of patience and fortitude, and less of that calm but strong confidence in the sober second thought of the German people, a war might have been precipitated within a fortnight. The method chosen by Mr. White at that time of fighting the ill-informed public opinion of Germany with a weapon at his command, the peaceable weapon of publicity, was typically and victoriously American.

His Fourth of July speech in Leipzig reverberated through the length and breadth of the Empire like a thunderbolt, all the more effective because of Mr. White's well-known usual placidity and gentleness of demeanor. The firm and yet wholly unaggressive stand he had taken in that speech against the outspoken and venomous hostility shown by the Germans towards the American people, made a deep and lasting impression. For a time he had the jingo press of Germany baying and snarling in his tracks like a pack of hungry hounds, but Mr. White calmly ignored them. The insincere official press, and all its subsidized or pampered followers, could, in the face of Mr. White's unequivocal declaration that the United States would not suffer any intervention or interference in this war, do nothing better than retrace their steps. Mr. White had made it plain, by his unofficial utterance at the Leipzig banquet, which yet doubtless (at least such was the general impression in Germany at the time) had had its inspiration in Washington, to both people and government in Germany that their only course, compatible with a continuance of the traditional friendship between the two countries, lay in the maintenance of the strictest neutrality, and in the curbing of that unreasoning hatred to which the press of the whole Empire had given, up to then, unbridled vent.

Nor was this all Mr. White did during those memorable six months from April to October of that year.

With keen, dispassionate insight and full appreciation of the true facts—never to this hour wholly divulged for publication—Mr. White did much to allay suspicion in Washington consequent upon the queer doings of Admiral von Diedrichs and the German squadron in Manila Bay and elsewhere. He nailed the German government down to an unequivocal declaration of purpose in

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those waters, thus frustrating in advance any possible ulterior objects lurking in the minds of official Germany in those days; and what is, perhaps, even more, he persistently, though always with the greatest urbanity, saw to it that this declaration was carried out to the letter. What Admiral von Diedrichs's real purpose was in openly bidding defiance, during a time of actual warfare, to the naval power of the United States in Philippine waters, it is hard to conjecture even now, opinion on that score having by no means yet crystallized on either side of the water. Leading German papers in those days published joyfully letters from German naval men on board Admiral von Diedrichs's vessels, wherein ambiguous and in some instances openly threatening phrases occurred, intended to convey the meaning that there was but a hair's breadth intervening at a particular juncture between hostilities with the United States. But, at any rate, Mr. White extracted in time any poison fangs possibly concealed from casual observation.

The war ended, and the inflamed state of public anti-American feeling in Germany slowly subsided. It reached fever heat, at slight provocation, again and again, during the succeeding two years. The tone of a portion of the American press, which, in response to insistent German attacks, had become quite unfriendly to Germany, sufficed for that. There was a season of uninterrupted give-and-take between the press of the two countries, and in Germany they pretended to be the wholly innocent and wronged party, and in token of that they renewed their campaign of bitter abuse of everything American. Irresponsible utterances on this side of the ocean, chance remarks or criticisms dropped from the lips of individual Americans, were picked up and tossed to and fro in the entire German press, as convincing evidence of a deep-laid plot of the American government to browbeat Germany into war. Ill-temper was the rule among the German people for another space wherever anything American was concerned, and to the wrangling kept up in thousands of German sheets there was no end.

The effects of the Dingley tariff law, at first quite seriously injuring German export, also sufficed to generate another wave of Americophobia, and as this deluged above all the commercial classes in Germany, who politically had till then usually felt in a more friendly mood towards this country, it brought another layer of German society into the hostile camp. It even affected the

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Socialists, as a class the stanchest friends this country has in the Empire. The effects of this particular wave of anti-American sentiment have been most lasting.

The Samoan squabble again sufficed to raise German public opinion to a high pitch of animosity. While the negotiations in the three capitals, in London, Berlin and Washington, and subsequently in Samoa itself, lasted, that large portion of the German press which is under all circumstances unfriendly to the American nation, sought out every opportunity, no matter how trivial, for beclouding the German mind and hectoring public opinion there into the assumption that there was a conspiracy afoot between the cabinets of Washington and London, whose sole object was to humiliate Germany and to deprive her of her just dues in the matter at stake. Every carelessly worded despatch that appeared in London or New York was cabled over and seized upon for the purpose of proving this contention, and small as the whole object at issue really was, in every sense, it was treated by the major part of the German press—and, let me add, by the German government as well—as a matter of life and death to the nation at large.

In all these three cases, Mr. White displayed consummate ability, a resourcefulness that never failed him, and an unfailing tact that finally won the battle for him.

The present writer may perhaps be pardoned, if he mentions the fact that, throughout Mr. White's long appeal from German public opinion misinformed to public opinion better informed, he himself shared a part of this fight, and enjoyed a confidence which he was proud of and which he did his best to justify. At Mr. White's suggestion, articles were launched by me into some of the leading German papers which rectified gross misstatements about the effects of the Dingley law, about alleged American hostility, and particularly about the Samoan question then pending. These articles had a wide circulation and did, I believe, a modicum of good in removing some of the thickest cobwebs from the German mind.

That, however, as stated before, was but a part of Mr. White's fight. His personal intercourse with the élite of Germany's intellectual class did enormous good in allaying hostility and removing prejudices unfavorable to America. At his hospitable board gathered frequently the leading minds of Germany in

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science, politics and society, and mingled there with American guests of distinction, thus affording a rare opportunity to men who could not possibly have met elsewhere, of exchanging views and destroying erroneous opinions. The seeds of a better and kindlier mutual appreciation, of a fairer understanding of each country's views and aims, were sown on these occasions, seeds destined to sprout and bear fruit some day. In his quiet, unostentatious way Mr. White, whose dinners enjoyed the reputation in Berlin diplomatic and official circles of being, in a dainty way, the acme of perfection, has done more in this line during his five years' stay at the German capital than his predecessors combinedly did during the last two generations. In this, it may be well to state, he was ably and tactfully assisted by his wife. Incidentally, I will mention that this patriotic hospitality cost Mr. White several times the amount of his salary, a fact which, it is true, he never alluded to, but which was very palpable.

He attended, besides, as an honored and cherished guest, scores of public commemorations and other important functions, and on all of these occasions he was invariably a conspicuous, active figure, never a mere cipher, and in a land where scholarship still counts for more than it does elsewhere, despite recent developments in a different direction, he was an honor to his country. One such occasion stands out in strong relief—the bicentenary celebration of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, when Mr. White was created an honorary member on the strength of his scientific achievements. He alone of all the diplomatic corps in Berlin was accorded this distinction—a distinction as rarely conferred in Germany as it is highly valued.

Again, Mr. White's happy gift of ready and felicitous speech stood him in good stead during his ambassadorship. He used it, as he used his other gifts, always in the cause of peace and good-fellowship between the two nations. His impromptu remarks on many public and private occasions, as well as his carefully prepared orations on days of special significance, will live, some of them, in Germany for years to come, as evidences of the best and most advanced American thought, and as a living proof of cordial American appreciation of all that is best in German culture.

His particular aim, though, has been to influence, by every legitimate and honorable means, the German and American press with a view to a restoration of amity and cordial relations. To

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this end, he broke with a tradition to which his predecessors had more or less rigidly adhered, and allowed himself to be interviewed, on certain occasions, by reputable and responsible editors and correspondents. His intimate acquaintance with press conditions on both sides of the ocean, and his wise caution and unerring judgment brought it about that he was rarely if ever misrepresented by his interviewers, and a vast deal of good was thus accomplished by him, more especially in the line of imparting information tending to a better understanding of the views and motives stirring and propelling both nations, and to remove misconceptions.

In his intercourse, too, with the Kaiser, Mr. White showed from the first that psychological insight and exquisite tact which made him a born diplomat, and which enabled him, within a few short months after his arrival, to win and hold the confidence and unvarying esteem of that monarch. Probably more than to any other single factor, the reëstablishment and the knitting together of intimate and friendly relations between the two countries are due to that. Having unwavering faith in his singleness and purity of motive, the Kaiser has been swayed, probably to a larger extent than he himself is aware of, in his judgment of America and Americans and in his policy resulting therefrom, by this mild-mannered, frank-eyed citizen of the great Republic.

The post of ambassador in Berlin was the culmination of Mr. White's diplomatic services, always undertaken solely from patriotic motives, and against the strong bent of a nature essentially scholarly and averse to pomp and splendor. But before that, while serving as United States Minister to Germany, in the heyday of Bismarck's glory, and to Russia, during President Harrison's term, he had given proof of his rare aptitude for this line of activity. The autocracy of Bismarck and the autocracy of the Czar interested him greatly as differing types on the same line of human and political development, and he recognized clearly in both the component parts of mighty commonwealths. While serving his first Berlin term, he successfully stayed the strong hand of the Iron Chancellor from meddling in South-American internal troubles, during the long internecine strife between Chile and Peru. He did much to soften the rude tariff war which Bismarck waged against that pride of the boundless West, the American hog; and he contrived to eliminate sundry elements of

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ceaseless trouble embittering the diplomatic relations of the two countries, notably the frequent arrests on German soil of American citizens of German birth for evasion of military duty.

The Czar, Alexander III., strangely enough, had a warm corner in his heart for the American diplomat, and it was primarily due to this that Mr. White succeeded, above all expectations, in improving relations with Russia, which just before his arrival had become somewhat strained. The brutal and incessant arrests of adopted American citizens, Russian Israelites by birth, who on visiting their native country had been pounced upon and ruthlessly dumped on Siberian soil, ceased almost altogether, owing to Mr. White's solicitous intervention and unremitting vigilance. Trade relations with this country, too, improved perceptibly, and it is since his stay in St. Petersburg that American engineers and manufacturers have gained a secure foothold for their enterprises in the wide domains of the Czar. There, too, as in Germany, he did much in successfully combating prejudices unfavorable to this country held by the Russian commercial classes, and this greatly redounded to the financial advantage of the United States.

A page by itself is taken up by Mr. White's participation, as a delegate from the United States, in the famous Peace Conference at The Hague. A firm believer in the doctrine underlying international arbitration, he devoted himself enthusiastically to the labors of that memorable gathering. Contrary to the opinion held in most countries, and particularly on the European Continent, that the conference was, on the whole, rather a fiasco, he returned from it to his post in Berlin with the firm conviction that this conference marks the beginning of a new epoch in human affairs, and that it is nothing less than the entering wedge in the colossal edifice over whose portal it is written that might is above right. He felt, therefore, particularly grieved at the strangely inconsistent attitude assumed at The Hague by nearly all the delegates from Germany, and especially that of Professor Zorn, then of the University of Königsberg, the Kaiser's protegé and mouthpiece. Professor Zorn, it will be remembered, with the majority of the German delegates and those of the other Dreibund Powers, strenuously and successfully opposed the principle of admitting arbitration in international quarrels where vital questions—or questions considered vital at the time by each particular government —should be at stake. He also opposed every plan proposed look-

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ing to a *pro rata* reduction of the armed forces of Europe. However, Mr. White holds that enough has been accomplished in the way of practical good by this initial conference, of so immense a scope as to justify the belief that it has been but the forerunner of other and more sweeping reform conventions of the same nature. Recent events seem to bear him out in this, and it so happens that it is his own country which has been the first to submit an important controversy with a neighbor to the decision of the new tribunal.

Mr. White within a few days will commemorate the seventieth anniversary of his birth. He has told the writer repeatedly that he means to retire wholly from public life and never again accept an office, of whatever kind. His retirement has doubtless been hastened by the great sorrow that came to darken his declining days in midsummer of last year. Up to the day when this awful blow—which deprived him of an only and tenderly beloved son under circumstances peculiarly tragic—fell on him, Mr. White was a hale and hearty man, looking and feeling a full decade younger than his age, with hair that was barely grizzling. But on receipt of that terrible news, his hair and beard turned white as snow, and he now feels the absolute need of rest, at least rest from a prescribed round of public duties that he can neither slight nor escape from with honor. The nervous energy that lives within that frail, slender body of his is, however, so great that he has, within the last three years, undertaken, merely as a pleasant respite from his official duties, literary labors of such scope and magnitude that their accomplishment would amply suffice for the lifetime of an ordinary man. Mr. White's vitality, indeed, is so amazing and his recuperative powers so extraordinary, that much may yet be expected of him, if not in the domain of diplomacy or statecraft, then in the republic of letters.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

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TENDENCIES OF AMERICAN LEGISLATION.

BY SAMUEL J. BARROWS, COMMISSIONER FOR THE UNITED STATES ON THE INTERNATIONAL PRISON COMMISSION.

ONE of the many illustrations which might be adduced as to the denationalizing effect of the American system of local self-government is, that at the capital of the nation not the slightest provision has ever been made for a comparative study, analysis, and classification of the legislation of the different States and Territories. The output of coal and iron, the volume of agricultural products, the totals of manufacturing industries, are all carefully analyzed and compared and made the subject of exhaustive treatises for the purposes of commerce and trade; but the output of State legislation, which bears a vital relation to the development and expression of the national life, is not recognized as of sufficient importance to be even indexed by the general government. This is a function of public service which might naturally be devolved upon the Library of Congress or the Department of State; but it has never been required or requested by Congress, the body which might be supposed to recognize the advantages of a conspectus of the tendencies and movement of American legislation. Only a few years ago, I found it difficult to find in Washington a complete set of the session laws of the different States. Mr. James Bryce, in writing his "American Commonwealth," likewise found it difficult, he said, to get the constitutions of the different States. The compilation which Ben Perley Poore made some years ago, and which was published by Congress, has long been out of date. It was left for the State of New York, when it held its Constitutional Convention, to do what ought to have been done by the general government—that is, to bring together and edit the constitutions of the different States, which the convention needed as a basis for its discussions.

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So it has been left for the State of New York to do two other things which more naturally ought to be done by the general government. One is the publication every year of a *Comparative Summary and Index of Legislation* by the New York State Library, covering all the public laws passed by the fifty-one separate legislatures. The other is the establishment at Albany of an anthropometric bureau of identification, for the registration of criminals in all States of the Union, the several States being simply asked to furnish the data from their prisons. The State Library has now gone further. In order that readers may not be without a guide in threading the mazes of this labyrinth of legislation, it has prepared in a separate volume a *Review of Legislation,* in which every subject embraced in the classification is assigned to a competent specialist, the whole volume, like the Summary, being under the charge of the librarian of the sociological department, Dr. R. H. Whitten. In the compass of 240 pages, 46 subjects are treated by 38 specialists, Dr. Whitten himself writing four of the papers. All the papers are founded upon the legislation of 1901, though comparisons are often made covering a series of years.

Reviews and compilations on a few special lines have not been hitherto wanting. Colonel Carroll D. Wright has issued, in his Bulletins from the Department of Labor, valuable compilations of the labor laws of the States. For the International Prison Commission I prepared a review of New Legislation Concerning Crimes and Misdemeanors, which showed the movement of criminal law in the United States for the years 1897-98. The Bureau of Education and the Department of Agriculture have recognized the value of comparative legislation on special lines; but for the first time we now have a review of legislation which is comprehensive enough to cover the entire field of legislative activity. And Mr. Melvil Dewey, the director of the New York State Library, who has inspired this work, encourages us to believe that it will be done by the State of New York every year. Leaving out the kaleidoscopic and kakeidoscopic mirrors of the American press, there is nothing which is such a perfect reflector of American life, institutions, habits, and commercial, political and educational organization; nothing which serves so well as a barometer of ethical sentiment as the fifteen or twenty thousand pages which are bound up annually in the session laws. Taking

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these laws for 1901, the threshold year of the new century, what do they, as interpreted by 38 law chemists, show as to the tendencies of our American civilization?

Looking first at fundamental questions relating to political constitutions and organization, it is to be noted that the new constitution of Alabama went into effect on November 28th, 1901, and that constitutional conventions have been held in Virginia and Connecticut. The Alabama constitution, like those recently adopted in New York, South Carolina and Delaware, is marked by a great increase in bulk. The growing habit of forcing into constitutions a large amount of matter which ought to be left to legislative enactment is to be deprecated. Twelve States have applied to Congress to call a constitutional convention on the subject of a direct vote by the people for United States Senators. Increase in population has compelled re-districting, and eighteen States have made a re-apportionment of Congressional districts, fifteen States have re-apportioned representation in the upper and lower branches of the legislature, and seven others representation in either the upper or lower branch. Alabama is the first State to adopt quadrennial instead of biennial legislative sessions. The new constitution limits the regular session to a period of fifty days once in four years. The Governor may call special sessions limited to thirty days, but no acts can be passed other than those designated in the Governor's proclamation except by a two-thirds vote. Alabama has made another decided reform. Its statute books have hitherto been padded beyond measure with local, special and private laws. The new constitution will correct much of this abuse.

Dr. Whitten notes a "growing distrust of the legislature in the constitution of almost every State." Some States are making provision for more direct legislation. The South Dakota constitutional amendment, providing for the initiative and referendum, adopted in 1898, has not yet been made use of. Utah adopted in 1900 a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum, but the legislature of 1901 failed to pass the legislation needed to put it into effect. Oregon submits a similar amendment to vote of the people in 1902. An Act providing for the submission of questions to electors was adopted by Illinois; and a provision of similar purpose, but of different effect, will come up before the Nevada Legislature of 1903. Some of these

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provisions for the referendum are cumbersome. They indicate a reaction from representative towards purely democratic government. It is evident that this movement may go too far. We shall make a mistake if we abolish instead of improving our legislatures.

Passing to the organization of State government, nothing is more evident than the remarkable increase in the number of new departments, boards and commissions. This multiplication of State machinery provides for the inspection, supervision, and regulation of various interests and activities. During the last year, more than forty new State offices or boards were authorized by the various legislatures. They represent the interests of agriculture, labor, public health or safety, the care of defectives, dependents, and delinquents. Minnesota has created a board of control, of three members, to have supervision over the charitable, reformatory and penal institutions of the State. Kansas has reorganized its State Board of Charitable Institutions as a board of control. The tendency towards centralization in administration is seen to be strong in the Western States. There are now centralized boards of control in nine States, Kansas, Wyoming, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Nebraska, Washington, Iowa, Rhode Island, the latter being the only representative of the Eastern States in this policy. Of the fifty boards or commissions mentioned, nearly all are appointed by the Governor, thus increasing the power of the executive. A disposition is evident to increase the compensation of State officers.

Some of the Western States have been rather reckless heretofore in allowing foreigners to vote. A proposed constitutional amendment in Colorado denies the suffrage to all but citizens. In Texas intention could be declared at any time before election, but a proposed amendment requires aliens to declare their intention of becoming citizens six months before election.

With reference to election methods, the movement for voting machines is making rapid progress in various States. California has passed severe laws against extremes of defamation or of caricature of candidates for office. The system of direct nominations without the medium of a convention already exists in various States. Oregon has passed a stringent law doing away with the convention system. This act does not seem to be free from objection, for it renders it possible for the members of one party to participate in the nominations of another.

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In the sphere of city government, the policy of State interference still continues, but there seems to be no doubt of the steady growth of home-rule provisions, the disposition to throw upon cities the responsibility and privilege of managing their own affairs. Notable among city government laws was the new charter of Greater New York, passed without the acceptance of the city. Various city charters provide for a non-partisan distribution of offices. Dr. Max West of the United States Department of Agriculture points to the fact that inheritance-tax legislation exhibits radical tendencies in the direction of high and progressive rates in several States. The heaviest taxes on collateral inheritances of personal property are levied in North Carolina, but they are applied to personal property alone. More than one-half of the States in the Union now have inheritance taxes. With reference to business corporations, the legislation for 1901 tended towards an increase in incorporation and license fees. Colorado has shown its hostility against foreign corporations by imposing license fees fifty per cent. greater than those imposed on domestic corporations.

Dr. Whitten reports the most important movement in the taxation of public-service corporations to be the substitution of taxation at actual value for various kinds of specific taxes. In Michigan, "equal taxation," as it is called, triumphed this year after a long, exciting and obstinate struggle. Substantial progress has been made in Dakota in a movement to substitute *ad valorem* for specific taxes.

School legislation in 1901 was important and significant. The tendency is towards better organization and further centralization in the supervision of teachers. Attendance requirements are more rigid. State and local provisions for the support of schools show a liberal increase. Especially noticeable is the extension of secondary education, the multiplication of free libraries, the increase of instruction in agriculture and mechanic arts, the adoption of uniform text-books and the establishment of higher standards for teachers. Dr. William T. Harris, who has so long advocated the consolidation of rural schools in sparsely settled districts and the transportation of pupils, notes with satisfaction the growth of laws in this direction in Indiana, Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska. Another happy tendency is seen in the increased provision for kindergarten instruction. "Nothing yet invented,"

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says Dr. Harris, "is equal to the kindergarten for the instruction and nurture in right habits and views of life of the children of the slums." If public education is spreading at the roots, it is also spreading at the top. The Commissioner of Education shows that there has been an enormous increase of free, public high-schools in the United States in recent years. They increased from something less than fifty in 1860 to 2,523 in 1890; and during the ten years from 1890 to 1900 they increased to 6,005. Coincident with the growth of cities is the provision to lengthen the school term. It has been likewise lengthened in the rural districts. The average school term in the United States has increased from 130 days in 1881 to 145 days in 1900. Another tendency is against nepotism and political influence in school affairs. Up to 1900, thirty-one States had already adopted compulsory laws of one kind or another. During the last year, thirteen States have passed laws requiring a prescribed minimum of attendance during the year for those of school age working in factories. Professor Brown, of the University of California, declares that recent "legislative movements are indicative of the new purpose which has been dawning upon the American people—the purpose to make secondary education accessible to every child in the land who is capable of doing the work of a secondary school."

As to higher and professional education, there is no common standard in the United States. With reference to the practice of law, changes have been made in the laws of ten States and Alaska and the Philippines. In sixteen political divisions women are now admitted to practice by special laws. In twenty-eight political divisions, according to Dr. Henry L. Taylor, of the University of the State of New York, they seem to be admitted by inference, and to be definitely excluded only in six political divisions, viz., Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia. In Rhode Island and Vermont the statutes and rules are silent: and, strange to say, no woman seems to have tried to break the silence by applying for admission.

Legislatures have taken a heavy dose of medicine in the past year; for, since January 1st, 1900, twenty-eight political divisions of the country have medicated their laws, all except Alaska now having examining boards for the regulation of the practice of medicine. Osteopathy, "discovered" in 1874, is now

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recognized by law in fifteen States. Changes in laws concerning dentistry in the last two years have been made in thirteen political divisions, and the practice of dentistry is now regulated by law in fifty political divisions of the United States, and pharmacy is regulated by statute in forty-nine. In eighteen States a diploma in pharmacy does not now admit to practice, an examination being required in all cases. This shows the increased care which is regarded as necessary in the compounding and sale of drugs. Veterinary medicine is regulated by statute in sixteen States.

Imagine Mr. Carnegie's delight in knowing that, in 1901, ninety-two library laws pertaining to the State at large in thirty-one States and Oklahoma were passed, not including the great number of local acts applying to special libraries or localities. The South is not conspicuous in this legislation; thirty-nine of these laws were passed in the Central States, thirty in the North Atlantic States. Mr. Melvil Dewey informs us that, since 1889, twenty States have established library commissions. Seven States increased the powers, duties and funds of these commissions in the last year. Delaware, Nebraska, Washington and Idaho created new commissions, notwithstanding the fact that a Philistine in Idaho moved to amend the title of the bill to read "A bill to provide employment for idle people." Mr. Dewey notes that the evolution of the district library and home education department is going on in all the more progressive States. Illinois gives $2,500 a year for libraries for its farmers' institutes. Travelling libraries increase in influence and recognition, Idaho appropriating no less than $6,000 annually for this purpose. More liberal laws for establishment and maintenance have been passed in fifteen States. New Hampshire has a law requiring the provision of public libraries in every town of the State, and Mr. Dewey reports a large number of laws passed for the promotion of historical societies, geological surveys, and other scientific interests. The historic and æsthetic spirit is more and more asserting itself. Movements for the preservation of scenic and historic places and objects secure legislative approval.

In the field of charity the same tendency towards centralization of institutions is to be noted. A fresh impulse to the child-saving movement is recorded in the legislation of various States. The probation system, as applied to children, finds a new instrument in the children's court adopted by Illinois and Pennsylvania and

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by the city of New York. Indiana, in the view of many, has taken a backward step in allowing children between the ages of three and seventeen to be kept in the almshouse for sixty days, instead of for ten days only as heretofore. Improved legislation appears for the insane, the feeble-minded and epileptic. Following the example of New York and Texas, New Jersey last year passed an act to establish a village for epileptics. In its admission of the well-to-do and middle classes, as well as paupers and indigents, and in the power granted the managers to hold and detain patients judicially committed, the New Jersey law is progressive.

Laws relating to excise matters were enacted by thirty States in 1901, most of them modifications of existing laws, none showing distinctively new features.

In 1901, Montana and Wyoming were added to the list of States having a State Board of Health. All the States but Georgia, Idaho and Oregon now have such State boards. Various forms of local, sanitary organization have grown up in countries, towns, and villages. Dr. Charles V. Chapin, Superintendent of Health, Providence, is authority for the statement that "the registration of vital statistics in the United States is notoriously inferior to that of most other civilized countries." Only ten States have a satisfactory system of registering vital statistics. Among anti-nuisance laws of recent enactment, are those forbidding the emission of dense smoke in the open air, and also those relating to spitting in public places. Most of these are local laws, but Virginia, during the last year, showed an interesting blending of the religious and sanitary spirit in making it "a misdemeanor to expectorate on church floors or aisles, or otherwise in a church or other place of worship." It will be interesting to see whether this law will diminish the church attendance in that State. Communicable diseases received much attention. Elaborate laws on this subject have been passed by Kansas, Montana, and New Hampshire. Massachusetts leads the States in protecting the public from shell-fish living in sewage-polluted waters. New Mexico forbids the employment of tuberculous teachers in the public schools. Massachusetts was the pioneer State in building in 1898 a sanatorium for consumptives. New York last year appropriated $100,000 for such a hospital; New Hampshire, Minnesota, Rhode Island, have appointed commissioners to consider the subject. Many recent laws relate to the regulation of embalming.

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In the regulations adopted by several States concerning barbers, the element of protection to public health is less conspicuous than the trade-union spirit.

The conflict between oleomargarine and butter is seen in food laws. There is a great lack of uniformity in food legislation.

The creation of public employment bureaus first began in the United States in 1890. There are now twenty-six offices in eleven States. Various laws protect the health of laboring men. Factory inspection has been increased. Laws against insect pests and plant diseases protect the fruit-grower, and there are laws for the protection of animals from contagious diseases. A remarkable growth in interest in matters relating to forestry is seen in recent legislation. Pennsylvania has created a distinct State department in the interest of forestry, and proposes to inaugurate, for purposes of revenue as well as protection, a progressive forest system for the 325,000 acres owned by the State. The year 1900 was characterized by unprecedented interest in game protection. New game laws were passed in thirty-three States and Territories. The number of States now prohibiting the killing of all, or certain, kinds of big game, has been increased to twenty-eight. Concerted agitation has resulted in great progress in the direction of uniform legislation for the protection of song-birds and those that destroy insects. Curious features of game legislation are the Illinois law requiring photographs on non-resident licenses, and an act of Nevada requiring teachers in the public schools to read the game laws at least twice during each school year. Still another is the law of Maine, which punishes by imprisonment for not more than ten years, or a fine of $1,000, the negligent or careless shooting or wounding of a human being while hunting.

There were passed 168 laws in the various States in 1901 relating to insurance. Legislation on the subject of mortgages is not specially important.

Over 169 road laws were enacted in forty-three States, more than have been passed in any previous year. The bicycle and the automobile have, doubtless, had something to do with this. The contract labor and cash-tax system of building and maintaining country roads is gradually replacing the old statute labor system.

In all this review I have thus far paid no attention to the important part assigned to me, viz., the review of penal legislation. I have space to mention only a few indications. Most significant

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was the rapid, simultaneous, yet unconcerted, action of twenty-four States last year in passing laws relating to kidnapping and abduction. The kidnapping of a Nebraska boy awakened general alarm and called attention to the fact that in many States there was no definition of the crime and no penalty attached to it. In three States, Alabama, Delaware and Missouri, the death penalty may now be imposed for kidnapping; in five States the maximum penalty is life imprisonment. The increasing tendency in later years to impose severer penalties for sexual crimes is seen in several States in the raising of the age of protection. California, Michigan, Utah, and Washington, now impose penalties for docking horses' tails. Concerning penal institutions, there is a tendency towards centralization of control, and toward the substitution of reformatories for prisons. Decided progress was made in the extension of the indeterminate sentence in New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Indiana. Parole laws were passed in New York, Connecticut, Minnesota, and Vermont. New York and Vermont adopted probation laws, and Pennsylvania a new commutation law. In Alabama a law was passed requiring inspectors of convicts to establish a separate camp for convicts having tuberculosis. In New York such cases will secure isolation at Clinton Prison. The new hospital for insane criminals in New York is opened at Dannemora, so that that State has now two hospitals for the criminal insane. A new reformatory for women was opened at Bedford, making three reformatories for women in New York State, besides the Women's Prison at Auburn. New York has adopted a new prison at Napanock, which is thus far only a reformatory in name. A new reformatory has also been opened at Rahway, New Jersey.

Few reactionary and unwholesome tendencies appear in the legislation of 1901, though some of it moves on lines of doubtful experimentation, and the question may be raised whether legislation does not tend to excess, and to include measures which are crude and untimely. On the whole, however, it will be found that the general trend of American legislation is along lines of education, equality, philanthropy, the preservation of public health and order, the diffusion of intelligence, and the general development of civilization.

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

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HOW I WROTE "PAGLIACCI."

BY R. LEONCAVALLO.

I was born at Naples in March, 1858, my parents being the late Cavaliere Vincenzo Leoncavallo, President of the High Court of Justice, and Virginie d'Aurion, daughter of a celebrated Neapolitan painter, many of whose works are now in the Royal Palace at Naples. I studied first at Naples, where I entered the Conservatoire as a day scholar at the age of eight, and received my diploma when sixteen; my professors of composition were Serrao and de Piamcesi: a cantata was the work I wrote on leaving the Conservatoire. Afterwards, I went to Bologna to complete my literary studies at the University, under the direction of the great Italian poet, Corducci; and I received my diploma as doctor of letters at the age of twenty. I was not obliged to do any military service, as, at the time of conscription, my brother was in the army. So I began my peregrinations as a concert pianist in Egypt, where at that time I had an uncle, Leoncavallo Bey, who was Director of the Press at the Foreign Office.

There I played at Court, and Mahmoud Hamdy, the brother of the Viceroy Tewfik, appointed me as his private musician. I was driven out of Egypt by the war with the English, Mahmoud having sided with Arabi Pasha, who had promised officially to give me the appointment of head of the Egyptian military bands, with a liberal salary. Instead of this fine promise being fulfilled, I was fortunate in saving my life after Tel-el-Kebir, by means of a twenty-four hours' ride in Arab costume to Ismaïlia. There I resumed European dress, but being penniless, I was obliged to give a concert at Port Said in the house of M. Desavary, representative of M. de Lesseps. The proceeds of this concert amounted to five or six hundred francs, with which I was enabled to take an English boat, the "Propitious." I recalled this episode to

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Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, when I had the honor and happiness of seeing her, a few years ago, at Nice. Arrived at Marseilles, I immediately took a train (not *de luxe!* nor, alas, express!) which brought me to Paris, where, in the depths of want, I was forced to begin my career as an accompanist in café-concerts. I shall always remember one evening when I was engaged by a large wine merchant at Creil for eight francs, plus the amount of the fare there and back, and supper. When I was introduced into the concert-room (!), to my surprise I found no piano, but a small harmonium, and the *artistes* who sang had no music, but only those small leaflets that are sold for a sou in the streets, giving the melody only without accompaniment; this did not prevent the *artistes,* however, from asking, before they began: *"A tone and a half lower, please, Maître!"* It seems that I did marvels in the way of accompaniment, for the next day all the small agencies of the suburban café-concerts were asking for *the little Italian who was so clever,* according to the recommendation of the *artistes* whom I had accompanied. Little by little, my reputation reached the *Eldorado,* when the then director, M. Renard, asked me to write some songs for his "stars." These songs were successful, and were paid for by Père Bathlot at the princely rate of twenty or thirty francs apiece, without counting my royalties, which used to rise to the giddy height of seventy to eighty centimes an evening.

Later on I quitted the sphere of café-concerts, and got singing pupils among the *artistes,* whose répertoire I used to work up for them. It was at this period that I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of M. Maurel and the Maestro Massenet, who from the first treated me with great kindness.

Having met with many kind people at Paris who did their best to help me and assist me towards the attainment of a higher position, I succeeded at last in making a good living. About that time I wrote a symphonic poem on de Musset's "*Nuit de Mai,*" which is still unknown, although it was on the point of being performed by Colonne, who had promised to introduce it. When one day in conversation with M. Maurel on the subject of my hopes for the future, I read him the poem of the "*Medicis,*" which I had just completed; this great artist was so struck by the magnitude of my self-imposed task and the quality of the poem, that he advised me, as an Italian, to go to Milan, where he was to take part in

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the first rehearsal of "Otello," promising me an introduction and recommendation to M. Ricordi.

Relying on this promise, I pawned the furniture of my little flat and went to Milan, where M. Maurel kept his word, and presented me and recommended me to M. Ricordi, who finally gave me a commission to write the music for the libretto of the "*Medicis,*" which I had read to him, for the sum of 2,400 francs, payable in sums of 200 francs a month, thus obliging me to finish my opera in the course of a year. But, alas, although the opera was ready at the end of the year, M. Ricordi was by no means ready to produce it! And I waited thus in vain for three years, during which I recommenced at Milan the melancholy task of teaching, which I had hoped I might never have to resume!

After the success of "Cavaleria," by Mascagni, I lost all patience, and I shut myself up in sheer desperation, resolved to make a last struggle. In five months I wrote the words and the music of "Pagliacci," which was acquired by M. Sonzogno, after he had only read the libretto, and which Maurel admired so much that he insisted on producing it at Milan on May 17th, 1892. The success of this piece, as is known, was as striking as that of "Cavaleria," and its fame spread like wildfire. When this work was translated, M. Mendès, seeing that it bore some resemblance to his "*Femme de Tabarins,*" honestly believed that I had borrowed the subject of my work from him, and he even took steps towards bringing an action, which he frankly withdrew, with a letter published in the *Figaro,* after having found that there were other "*Tabarins*" written before his own. The truth is that I was then completely ignorant of the work of this writer, whom I admire so much, and I had taken my plot from an event that really took place in Calabria and was brought before my father when he was holding the Court of Justice at Cosenza. And what is stranger still, as I have since learned, the protagonist of my work is still living, and having been released from prison, is now in the service of Baroness Sprovieri in Calabria. If the action had come to trial, he would have been willing to come and give evidence in my favor. I regret that this did not happen, as we should have had a very dramatic scene during the evidence of poor Alessandro (the real name of my *Canio*) when he was relating his crime, his jealous fury and his sufferings!

R. LEONCAVALLO.

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AMERICA IN CHINA: OUR POSITION AND OPPORTUNITY.

BY JOHN BARRETT, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION TO ASIA, AUSTRALIA AND THE PHILIPPINES; FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

AMERICA holds in China to-day a position of unprecedented strength and significance. Never in the first cycle of America's intercourse with Cathay has she been so much respected and trusted there. Never in the history of her foreign relations has there developed a more favorable opportunity abroad for the exercise of wholesome political influence, and for the furtherance of legitimate material interests. The secret of this position is not complex; in diplomacy America is implicitly trusted by China, because her diplomacy is that of truth; in commerce America is everywhere welcomed in China, because her commerce involves no territorial aggression.

This statement is not made in any spirit of American boasting. It is the expression of a fact that is evident to every student of Asian-American relations. It might be true of any other nation similarly located and inspired by like traditions.

Although the United States has been flooded from time to time with discussions of our interests in China, present and prospective, especially during the Boxer outbreak and the subsequent crisis at Peking, it is doubtful if now, in view of all the attention given to home politics and problems, the American people realize the importance of profiting by our new position in Asia. In the press of prosperity, it may be unnoticed that the remarkable conditions already described are incomparably favorable for extending our commerce and prestige where 500,000,000 people debouch on seas that lave our own Pacific shores, where a fallow area of 5,000,000 square miles is yet in the infancy of its material development,

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and yet where already, with limited facilities and under adverse conditions, the annual foreign commerce exceeds $1,000,000,000. These figures include not only China, but also Japan, Korea, Siam and neighboring foreign dependencies, although China is the centre of foreign effort and the field of greatest promise. It may be excusable to overlook the Orient when a strong flood-tide of home demand is running. On the other hand, when the ebb shall inevitably set in, our manufacturers and merchants who have neglected the Eastern markets, and our statesmen and economists who have minimized their importance and decried the Government's policy in China, will sorely regret that they did not favor competition and interest during the earlier and critical stages. There will be another illustration of hindsight proving clearer than foresight. For instance, American merchants are the only merchants who have not made creditable arrangements for representation at the great Oriental expositions to be held, respectively, at Hanoi, in Indo-China, this winter, and at Osaka, in Japan, in the spring of 1903. They say they are too busy at home. Another day when they are less busy they will find German, British, and other European houses, who are to take part on a large scale in these exhibitions, gaining by their neglect of the present opportunities. These industrial expositions will be the most elaborate ever undertaken in Asia. The French and Japanese Governments, under whose official auspices they are to be conducted, are leaving no stone unturned in the effort to make them successful in every respect. They will be visited and studied by native and foreign merchants from all parts of the Orient, and yet the American manufacturer says, "Never mind." In contrast, the attitude of Asiatic manufacturers, merchants and artisans towards our own great Louisiana Purchase Exposition to be held in 1904 is, fortunately, one of profound interest; and, as a result, Asia will take part therein on a measure surpassing all her previous efforts. In this comparison, the conservative Chinese appears as even more enterprising than the vaunted American hustler.

The circumstances and influences leading up to America's present unique position in China are interesting and instructive, even if they are not generally appreciated. From the time of the negotiation of our first treaties of commerce and amity with China, our record of fair dealing has been maintained without serious blot. The Chinese, in casting about now in their perplex-

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ity to know whom they can trust, are studying history and learning the truth. From the first we have stood for the territorial integrity of the Empire, and for the extension of trade along legitimate lines. Above all things, we have not conspired to acquire territorial concessions, except those of limited area comprised within the original foreign settlements provided for in all the treaties with foreign countries, in the exercise of extra-territorial rights over nationals residing in designated ports. No matter what aspersions may be cast by jealous critics on our Chinese Exclusion Act, any representative Chinese official, scholar, or business man will say that this law is a mere bagatelle or incident compared to the forcible acquisition of China's territory by foreign nations. He will at once admit, even though he deprecates the legislation, that America has the sovereign right to exclude Chinese labor, but he will stoutly contend that no foreign nation has the right to deprive his country of its territory. He would prefer that America should restrict Chinese immigration forever, rather than strike at the life of his nation and the power of its Emperor by depriving it of one foot of its own dominion. Chinese exclusion may touch in a measure the personal pride of the Chinese, but wanton seizure of Chinese territory arouses at once whatever patriotic resentment there is in him. This is not an argument in support of, or an excuse for, our Exclusion Act, but a statement of its influence in our relations with China as compared with the influence of the policies of other nations. The Chinese Government is well aware that it is inspired by American economic conditions, and not by popular or official hostility to China.

Another significant agency that has developed Chinese confidence in America is the well-established belief, among the officials at Peking and the powerful Viceroys throughout the Empire, that America's diplomatic and consular representatives can be trusted for unselfish negotiations without ulterior or hidden purposes. It is a cause of deep satisfaction and pride to the American visiting China at the present time to note that our Minister and consuls are thoroughly respected by Chinese officials and merchants alike. The Wai Wu Pu, or Board of Foreign Affairs, at Peking, and the Viceroys and Governors of Provinces in which our consulates are located, have repeatedly learned from experience that American diplomacy is frank, direct, and forceful without buncombe. It is no exaggeration or self-assumption on the part of

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American diplomatic and consular representation to contend that it was its influence with the great Yangtse Viceroys, Liu Kun Yi at Nanking, Chang Chih Tung at Wuchang, and the shrewd Governor of Shantung, Yuan Shih Kai, now the Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province of Chihli, which prevented the spread of the Boxer outbreak and the absolute wiping out of the Legations at Peking. Some European diplomats and many foreigners resident in the treaty ports smiled critically at the attitude of the American Minister and Special Commissioner during the negotiations at Peking which followed the insurrection, and stated that the Chinese would soon forget all such consideration on the part of the United States. Events that have occurred since the signing of the protocol indicate, on the contrary, that the Chinese statesmen not only have not forgotten our policy, but are striving to show their appreciation of it.

I do not base this conclusion merely on my own observations of the last few months, in which it has been my privilege to be brought into close contact with the highest officials of the Chinese Empire, but on the word of our Minister at Peking and of our consuls stationed throughout the land. Two recent illustrations of Chinese friendliness towards the United States can be cited as cases in point. First, in the facilities afforded the American railway syndicate for the construction of its railway concession from Canton to Hankow, and in the agreement to the wording of the concession in such terms that it can be successfully worked and carried to completion, the Chinese Government has acted in good faith. Second, in considering the question of creditable representation at the St. Louis World's Fair, and in preparing to make a comprehensive exhibit from all parts of the Empire, it has taken active steps in high circles never before characteristic of its interest in such an enterprise. There were certainly no indications of prearrangement or concerted action on the part of Viceroys Yuan Shih Kai, Liu Kun Yi, and Chang Chih Tung when they declared in unmistakable terms to the Commissioner of the Exposition, and to the American consuls who presented him, that they were most desirous of doing everything in their power to strengthen relations of commerce and friendship with the United States. These sentiments were earnestly expressed by them without the words in any way being put into their mouths by the American representatives. In the conversation which followed

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the formal audience of presentation to the Throne at Peking, the Empress-Dowager departed from the ordinary platitudes of such occasions, and stated to the United States Minister and to the Exposition Commissioner that China deeply appreciated the attitude of the American Government during China's recent troubles, and desired that a special message to this effect should be conveyed to the President at Washington.

The endeavors of the United States to keep the indemnity at the lowest figure possible, and then finally its willingness to accept payment thereof on a silver basis; the efforts of Secretary Hay and Minister Conger, in response to the representations of Viceroy Yuan Shih Kai and Minister Wu Ting Fang, to secure the early evacuation of Tientsin by the foreign troops, and to bring the provisional government to an end; the readiness of the Administration at Washington to draw up the temporary tariff provided by the protocol, and to negotiate new treaties of commerce and amity more favorable alike to China and foreign countries, are all well known among Chinese officials from Peking to Canton, and from Shanghai to Chunking. The Viceroys, the Governors and their Secretaries discuss these features of American policy with a clearness that shows they are not forgotten. It is not intended to suggest here that America makes no mistake in her dealings with China, and that she has not a legitimate selfish interest to guard. By making as few mistakes, however, as could be expected under the trying circumstances, and by mingling with its care for American interests a sincere fairness which the Chinese have been quick to see and recognize, the Government at Washington has succeeded in placing the political, commercial, and missionary interests of the United States in a position of unprecedented strength.

Reference to missionary interests prompts me to advert to the exceptionally complimentary terms used towards them by responsible Chinese officials whom I have met. Without any initiative on my part, they volunteered the statement that the American missionaries as a whole are doing a good work, and are, in a Chinese sense, law-abiding foreign residents who undertake to support local Chinese administration. They said that American missionaries had been more reasonable and modest in their demands for indemnity than those of some other nationalities. While not generally favoring in principle the presence of missionaries in the interior, especi-

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ally in remote sections, they admitted that they had fewer complaints against Americans than against others, and that they believed the American missionaries were striving to avoid trouble. In conversation with our diplomatic and consular representatives, I found the missionary situation to be summed up about as follows: the missionaries as a body are bending their energies unselfishly to accomplish the best results, but now and then in this and that place there will be one indiscreet man or woman whose acts and methods will do more to arouse native prejudice and feeling than all the others put together. It is said, moreover, that wherever there is a tactful missionary and a pro-foreign Chinese official, there will be no trouble whatever, but wherever there is a tactless missionary and an anti-foreign official, there will be trouble galore. In view of the rampant criticism of missionaries in the treaty ports, it is only fair to cite the statement of several high Chinese, that foreign merchants and the advancement by some of their Governments of the material spirit they represent had done China far more harm than all the missionary exploitation. Whether this is the truth or not, there is no question in the mind of the impartial observer that the time has come when only men and women of unquestionable qualifications should be allowed to go to China as missionaries.

Looking at the opportunity for our export trade in China, our business interests must bear in mind that the vast possibilities of Asiatic trade will not be realized in the immediate present or in the near future. Its growth will be slow and in some measure disappointing. The potentialities for a great demand and supply in China are almost limitless, but their practical value depends upon the facilities for exploiting them which do not now exist. The one chief developing influence required, in addition to the reform of government, is the construction of a network of railways throughout the interior. The dreams of the riches of Cathay will not be realized until the Empire is gridironed with railroads. The railway enterprises already inaugurated and the concessions granted for others are only a small part of what are needed. Throughout China's present area of 4,000,000 square miles, there are not yet 1,000 miles of railroads in active operation. There is not trackage equal to that of a single line from New York to Chicago. What this means can be best understood when we picture the United States as she was in material development

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before the era of railways. These are absolutely necessary to carry the products of the foreign countries into the distant interior and bring the wealth thereof to the seaboard. Only with them can China's buying capacity be fostered. Only with them can her iron, coal, gold and silver, copper, tin, antimony and sulphur deposits, be turned into money. Railway construction will do more to make China a world power than the combined diplomacy of the allied nations.

The permanent nullification of the *likin,* or inland-barrier taxes, is now the chief topic of discussion in China. A treaty has recently been signed with Great Britain which calls for the abrogation of the *likin* and the increase, in lieu thereof, of the import tariff approximately from five per cent. to twelve per cent. If the other nations of Europe and the United States negotiate similar treaties, the Chinese Government will have an opportunity of proving its capability of carrying out its promises. The United States has not yet reached an agreement with China on this point, but the Government at Washington can be depended upon to do what is right. The President and the Secretary of State are in touch with the situation, and will take such steps as will protect American interests and be fair to China in this proposed radical change. The sentiment of American merchants residing in China is somewhat divided on the question of *likin* repeal. They are unanimously in favor of its abrogation only on condition that the Chinese Government will abolish it in fact. They are unwilling to consent to a horizontal increase of import duty unless they are convinced that the revocation will be final and lasting. There is no question that illimitable advantages will result from the unhampered shipment of products into the interior; but it is contended by many that, after securing a general increase in the tariff, the Chinese officials will still wink at an unofficial collection of the *likin.* Unprejudiced observers are inclined to believe that China should have a trial on this point. If her promises are carried out, a mighty change will be wrought for the benefit alike of China and foreign countries; if she fails to make good her assurances, it will be possible to return to the present average duty of five per cent. General T. S. Sharretts, the American Tariff Commissioner, who has just returned to America from China, is quoted as believing that the *likin* cannot be successfully abolished. His acknowledged standing as a tariff

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expert entitles his views to careful consideration, but others, who have made a thorough study of Chinese conditions, argue that there will never be any marked growth in foreign trade with China until the *likin* is no more. It has been stated in America that our exporters are not interested in the *likin* question because the majority of our products sold in China, like cotton goods, find a market in districts of the north where no *likin* is imposed. This contention has been immediately met by the statement of Chinese officials that, if the *likin* is not abolished and a higher tariff negotiated in its place, it will be necessary to collect *likin* throughout all of China, including the northern provinces, in order to secure sufficient funds to pay the Boxer indemnity. The Chinese Government contends that an average duty of twelve per cent., following the abolition of the *likin,* is not high in comparison with the tariffs of Japan, the United States, and most of the countries of Europe, and that it is entitled, as a sovereign power, to determine the duties that shall be paid for imports and exports, provided they are not excessive or unreasonable. As the United States is described as residing in a glass house, so far as duties on foreign imports are concerned, the Chinese Government seems to expect its approval of the new system outlined. If this can be accomplished without infringement of the free list, which includes American flour, it is not improbable that a satisfactory solution of the problem will be reached.

There are a few influences at work in connection with America's position and opportunity in China that should be touched upon, even in brief terms, in the course of a discussion of this kind. The laying of the new Pacific cable and the construction of the Isthmian Canal will prove great incentives to the development of our commercial exchange with all Asia. When the cable is in working order and the canal is opened, we will wonder how we ever managed without them. The increase in the value of our trade that will surely come within a few years after their completion will more than pay their initial cost. Our occupation of the Philippine Islands gives us a commercial and strategic advantage which, though disputed by many, is believed by jealous European interests to provide us with an unrivalled opportunity to control the commerce of the Orient. The Philippines are the geographical centre of the resourceful coast-line which extends in and out for 8,000 miles from Vladivostok to Melbourne. Manila is cen-

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tral to more important points on this line than any other port controlled by foreign governments, except Britain's post of empire and commerce—Hong Kong. The American papers are constantly referring to the immense cargo steamers that Mr. J. J. Hill is soon to place on the Pacific to ply between our western coast and Asiatic ports; the despatches describe the organization here and there of companies with large capital to carry on trade with China; and there are glowing accounts of a wonderful excursion and floating commercial exhibition which is soon to set sail from Seattle for the Orient. But there seems to be a neglect of the vital consideration that these merchant vessels must have return as well as outgoing cargoes in order to compete with the European fleets, that large dividends for new corporations will be slow in payment unless these companies are willing to remain long in the field and rest content at first with meagre profits, and that commercial exhibitions are of little account compared to the efforts of individual resident agents and branch houses of recognized standing and quality. A measure has recently been introduced into Congress appropriating a quarter of a million dollars for a permanent American exhibition at Shanghai; but, as the American-Asiatic Association of New York has pointed out, this scheme, aside from the unconstitutionality of a Government subsidy for such a purpose, is unpractical no matter how well intended and worthily espoused. A thousand times as much good could be accomplished if half this money were appropriated to provide our diplomatic and consular representatives in China with creditable offices and with sufficient clerical assistance.

Summed up in a word, the diplomatic position of the United States in China is one of which our people, whether interested directly or not, can be honestly proud, and her material and moral opportunity is one that is tempting in its possibilities. President Roosevelt, if we may judge from his public utterances and his messages to Congress, and Secretary Hay, if we may infer from the instructions he is issuing to our Minister and consuls, will maintain this position with satisfaction to the American nation. Upon the business interests and the churches of America is placed the task of developing the opportunity, and it is for them to determine whether the opportunity shall be improved or not—either to their immeasurable advantage on the one hand, or to their lasting loss on the other.

JOHN BARRETT.

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THE JEWS IN ROUMANIA.

BY THE REV. M. GASTER, CHIEF RABBI OF THE SEPHARDI COMMUNITIES OF ENGLAND.

WHOEVER has been able to watch the agonized look of the animal under the air pump, when it slowly begins to realize that the life-giving air is disappearing, can picture to himself vividly the look upon the face of the Jews in Roumania. They are under such an air pump, called the Roumanian Chambers, and session after session a little more of the air which has been left to the Jews is slowly and remorselessly drawn out. That which increases the horror of the situation is the satisfied countenance of these legislators, and the cynical attitude with which they watch the gaspings of the animal under the pump, and the resentment they show if it attempts to escape from the terrible situation thus created.

Lest it be thought that the situation here described is exaggerated, I will mention some of the laws which have been passed; some of the ordinances which have accompanied apparently innocent laws, directing the officials how to apply them, and some of the cases of persecution as well as some of the consequences which have resulted therefrom.

Firstly, the Jews living in Roumania have been driven out of the villages and rural districts, and compelled to live in the artificial Ghetti thus created in the small rural townships and in the larger towns. The Jews, without exception, have then been declared "aliens not subject to an alien Power." Who on earth understands such a definition? Not to belong to any country in the world is an absolute impossibility, and yet have the Powers of Europe, to their lasting shame, winked at such preposterous sophistry. For this remarkable fiction of "aliens not subject to another Power," Austria is morally responsible. For when Rou-

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mania aspired to become an independent state, immediately after the Russo-Turkish war, one of the first steps towards official recognition was the abolition of the status of "protegés" granted by various Powers to aliens living in Eastern countries. This is still the case in Turkey, Morocco and elsewhere, and as Roumania had, up to then, formed part of the Turkish Empire, such protegés abounded. Austria, which counted about 16,000, by a stroke of the pen declared these people thenceforth not to stand any longer under its protection; yet Austria took no steps to ascertain what would become of these people, and what would be their political and civil status; they were left suspended in the air, as it were. Evidently, Austria hoped, or expected, that they would pass now under the protection of the Roumanian Government, and would enjoy at least all those civil rights which they enjoyed whilst still subjects of Austria. Roumania, however, took advantage of this state of things and declared *all* the Jews, natives as well as those who up to that time had been subjects of other Powers, to be "aliens not subject to any power." Hence "alien," in the legislation of the country, means, and meant, almost exclusively, Jews, for they alone are no longer protected by the representatives of other Powers; they have no possibility of obtaining redress by the intermediary of ambassadors.

Other Powers did not interfere. The reasons are not far to seek, and may be mentioned here briefly, notably in view of the vigorous action taken by the United States Government. The Governments of Europe are playing a political game, and every pawn on the chess-board counts. In order not to drive one of these smaller states into the arms of one of the two groups of Powers, they have refrained from exercising any pressure on Roumania on a question on which the Roumanian governing parties felt very keenly. It would not suit Austria to drive Roumania into the arms of Russia, nor would it serve the purpose of Russia to make Roumania an open enemy. There is further the old adage of the "beam and the mote" which could be applied, should any of the Central European Powers interfere too strongly in the Jewish question in Roumania. Anti-Semitism, which is rampant in these countries, gave a kind of support and countenance to the action of the Roumanians, and thus the only argument which would be of any weight was wanting—the moral condemnation of the treatment of the Jews in Roumania.

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Of greater importance was the economic factor, which determined the benevolent neutrality of the Central European Governments. By ignoring the Jewish question, and by playing into the hands of the different political parties, one Power after the other got some bargain in exchange. Germany got the conversion or the redemption of the great railway undertaking by Stroussberg, into which much German money had been sunk. It was carried out at a very remunerative price, and now Roumania is indebted to Germany for no less than three-quarters of a milliard of francs. It is, therefore, easy to understand why Germany will take up an attitude of cool reserve in response to the American note. Any weakening of Roumania's credit is sure to shake its financial position, and might jeopardize the enormous interests Germany has at stake there.

We must not forget, also, the plan Germany has in view to connect the future Bagdad Railway with Central Europe by way of Bucharest-Constanza.

And thus the Jews are left to their fate to be treated as "aliens." But they are aliens only as far as the enjoyment of rights is concerned; they are considered as "natives" when it is a question of duties. They are exempt from none. They must serve in the army, but cannot be promoted. They have to pay all taxes and fees, but are not allowed to benefit by any of the advantages to be derived therefrom. For example, they pay towards the establishment and maintenance of all the public schools, but, in virtue of the Law passed in 1896, they are excluded, under the plea of "foreigners" or "aliens;" if admitted, they must pay a separate fee, and they can be admitted only if there is room left after all others are provided for. Similarly, though they form the majority of merchants, they are not allowed to vote for the Chambers of Commerce, nor can any Jew be a member of a Chamber. The hardship is the greater, as these Chambers pass laws which affect the Jews.

The Jews cannot own any rural land and they are excluded from agriculture. Not living in the villages, and being prohibited, already as far back as 1873, from selling any liquors, even where they are tolerated, the charge which is sometimes levelled against them, on the head of usury and sale of intoxicating liquors, falls entirely to the ground in the case of the Roumanian Jews.

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By the law passed in 1887, the Jews were prevented from selling tobacco, and by the same law they were excluded from the public service and from participating in any public work. It was also declared unlawful even to employ Jews in any of the above trades, and they will soon be deprived of the right to sell groceries, to keep coffee-houses, or baker shops, etc., in rural districts, according to a law submitted to Parliament in December, 1901. Slowly the whole Jewish population, which, on the basis of accurate statistical returns, numbered about 260,000 in 1895, has been driven more and more into the small towns, increasing the hardships already experienced by those who lived there before.

In order to understand clearly the economic conditions prevailing in Roumania, it is necessary to remember that, out of five and a half millions of inhabitants, about four millions are peasants, living in the most destitute condition, worse off than the "moujik" of South Russia, and perhaps even worse than the Polish peasant of Galicia. These poor people are the prey of the landowner and of the official of the government. They want nothing, spend nothing, and earn just as much in prosperous years as will pay taxes and other obligations and will, perhaps, keep soul and body together. These are the genuine Roumanians, kind-natured, well-disposed, frugal and honest, not given to persecution or hatred, and even disposed to be friendly towards the Jews who live in their midst. I well remember the scenes at Brusturoasa, some twenty years ago, when armed peasants would not allow the Jews to be driven out from their village by the government officials.

Such warm friendship has been shown whenever Jews were driven out by the prefect or mayor at the instigation of the Government. The Jew had befriended them, said the peasants, and often protected them by his advice from abuses from other quarters, and therefore they would not part with him.

This alone is ample refutation of the charges of the official agents, who, on the basis of a specially-designed law preventing "vagabonds" from living in villages, coolly declared Jews to be vagabonds. Thanks to this interpretation they and their furniture and little belongings have often been taken out forcibly from the houses or shops in which they had lived for many years, loaded on carts, sent out of the village under the escort of the local police, and then left to their own fate. Such ejections from

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villages have taken place when the woman was in childbed, and in terrible weather when the children were actually dying.

So recently as August 18th, of this year, a certain Michel sin Bercu, who from his childhood had lived in the village Ciurneshti, district of Zlatinoasa, county Botoshani, found himself suddenly driven out of that district, from which his children had been recruited for the army. Forty peasants signed a petition for his re-admission, stating that he had lived peaceably with them all the time. Of course, no notice was taken of the petition, and a man who has hitherto been able to support himself and family honestly, is suddenly ruined and goes to swell the number of poor in the town, who find their means dwindling from day to day. Small townships have been retained under the category of villages, only and solely for the purpose of keeping the Jews out of them. The reason was openly stated in the Roumanian Parliament when the petition of the inhabitants came up for discussion.

How difficult it is made for Jews to live on the land, will be shown by another case, which came under my own observation when I was in Roumania two months ago. Owing to the rich harvest, the landowners were in want of hands to reap the corn promptly. A number of young Jews offered their services for a very scant emolument, and worked on the farm for about a fortnight. At the end of the time, payment was refused, and the mayor of the village expelled them as "vagabonds" who had no right to live in rural places. They had to find their way back on foot to the various towns from which they had come, depending on local charity for their subsistence. This is the answer which must be given to the statement of the Premier, M. Sturdza, who recently stated, in the interview he granted to a foreign journalist, that the Jews ought to take to agriculture.

The fact is that the Jews would be only too willing to work as peasants, if allowed.

About twenty years ago, when still living in Roumania, I approached the late minister and statesman, C. A. Rosetti, then Minister of the Interior, and suggested to him the plan of settling the Jews in the newly-acquired province of Dobrudja, and thus solving the Jewish question. But he replied that, according to the constitution, they could not plant a foreign colony on Roumanian soil. The argument was fallacious, for Dobrudja did not form part of Roumania when the constitution was promulgated (1864);

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and, furthermore, native Jews could not be termed a "foreign" element.

I mention this incident, because it shows how long ago the Jews wished to take to agriculture in Roumania, and it illustrates, on the other hand, the settled policy of the Roumanian Government to treat the Jews as "aliens" from the first years of their independence, and to use the Jews as a party weapon.

Here is another instance of the arbitrary treatment to which the Jews are exposed, without the possibility of remedy. They are the property of the Government and subjected to the will of the meanest official, who knows that he will be protected by his superiors in any action against them. Legal action taken by the Jews against any official has not had any result hitherto, except in a few cases of abuse too flagrant to be wholly ignored,—and then the punishment was ludicrously out of proportion to the wrong done.

Take the case of a certain Jancovitsh, who had been robbed and murdered by four Roumanians. Their guilt was beyond doubt, and the jury in Jassy condemned each of them to ten years' penal servitude. Brought soon afterwards before another jury in March, 1902, the court acquitted two, and merely imposed on the others a fine amounting in the aggregate to about $800. Again, instigated by the Government, as evidenced by the protection granted to the rioters by the police, the students and the mob of Bucharest attacked the Jewish quarters in 1897, robbed and plundered and ill-treated a number of Jews, entered the great Synagogue, destroyed the desks, tore the sacred vestments and desecrated the Ark. The police connived at these excesses and protected the rioters. Real foreigners had also to suffer by these ruffianly acts, and at the remonstrance of the foreign ambassadors, 150 rioters were *pro forma* arrested. All but seventeen were immediately liberated, and these seventeen were unanimously acquitted when tried soon afterwards. The then minister, Pherekyde, had the audacity to state in plain language in the House of Parliament that this was a mere patriotic ebullition on the part of generous youths!

The reason for this patriotic ebullition is still more instructive than even the ebullition itself and its consequences, for it throws a curious light on the mental disposition of the governing classes in Roumania. The ostensible cause was a meeting called together

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by young Roumanian Jews, in order to protest against the attempt of the then Minister of War to exclude Jews from military service. The claim of the Jews seemed to a few at least of the better Roumanians to be a just one, for they asked to be treated also in other respects as natives, just as they were when recruited for the army, whilst true aliens are exempt from military service. To obviate the logical sequence of the recruiting, the Minister of War conceived the idea of asking parliamentary sanction to exclude the Jews. The Jews, however, though badly treated in the barracks and not allowed by law to be promoted, were yet anxious to pay their blood-obligation to the state, and came together to protest against that proposal of the minister. This was the crime of the Jews! It was for this audacity that they were mobbed.

Yet another result was that the right of public meeting was more stringently narrowed down, for the Premier, Mr. Sturdza, declared to Dr. Beck, the Rabbi of one of the Synagogues at Bucharest, that the right of meeting was a political right, and as such, Jews could not enjoy it. A meeting called by the artisans to discuss the consequences of this decision was forcibly dispersed by the police, and when some of them went on a Friday night to Synagogue for their devotional service, they were told by the police to disperse, and the sanctity of the place was as much ignored by them then as on all occasions when the Government chooses to intimidate the Jews.

The latest exploit took place only a few days ago. I am informed, on unimpeachable authority, that towards the middle of September, persons who hold a very high administrative position proceeded on a mission to some of the most northern parts of Moldavia, which lie on the confines of Bucovina and Galicia, notably Dorohoiu. This place is famous for the excesses of the prefect Morruzzi, some twenty years ago, who went on the great Day of Atonement, and, under the pretext of fumigating the place, out of fear that a possible contagion might have been introduced from across the border, brought burning charcoal braziers into the densely packed Synagogue, and heaped on the burning coals pounds of sulphur, with the result that the congregation was nearly asphyxiated. The case was reported through the press and not denied, and the then prefect was thereupon advanced to the post of prefect of Bucharest. The Commission is

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going now to the same spot and also to the small townships of Radautz, Hertza, Saveni, Mamornitza, etc., photographing some of the less attractive types, and also putting questions to the people.

This Commission violates the sanctity of the Synagogue and outrages the feelings of the worshippers, by going with the photographer on the Sabbath into the Synagogue to take the photographs whilst the people are at prayers. The members of this special Commission are Mr. Vasile Lascar, the former Minister of the Interior and now first secretary of the ministry; Captain Vasescu, the Parliamentary representative of the locality, and the prefect of the District himself, the highest administrative functionary, Mr. George Billat.

The object of this new manœuvre it is not difficult to guess. When the Anglo-Jewish Deputation waited on Lord Salisbury some years ago, the Roumanian Government, with the view of discrediting the Jews, had photographs taken of the most disreputable-looking persons and sent them abroad as specimens of Roumanian Jews. This time, however, the manœuvre will not succeed. There are photographs of groups of emigrants taken in Roumania and on the way during the course of the last two or three years, and they show a far different type of Jew. This is the genuine, for this is the only fair, representative of the hard-working element driven to bay and forced to leave the old home. In the face of these photographs, specimens of the most backward Jews of the country will not mislead anyone.

A few words, now, about that famous law of expulsion. When the attempt was made on the life of Alexander II., Roumania could not give up to foreign jurisdiction any one who had entered the land. The men who had drawn up the Roumanian Constitution had all eaten of the bread of exile, and had therefore taken good care that such a law should not be introduced into the new order of things. But at the instance of Russia, the Roumanian Government passed a law by which it was authorized to expel from its territory any *foreigner* who had been guilty of inciting to rebellion, and who had caused grave troubles to the country. The object was to make it legal to expel Nihilists. This law was applied at a given moment to native Jews. It is modelled after the laws of mediæval barbarism, for no appeal is possible, no reason need be given. The police alone have the power to apply

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it, and on many occasions blank formulas of expulsion have been given to the prefects of various districts to be filled in with any names they like. Thus, Jews can be plucked out of their homes without warning and without time for settling their affairs, and can find themselves escorted by police agents to the nearest frontier. Russia took good care not to allow such a perversion of justice to be perpetrated against its own subjects living in Roumania, nor would Russia allow such expelled Jews to cross the Russian frontier. Austria again connived at this violation of the most elementary principle of personal liberty. It so happened in my own case, eighteen years ago, that I, whose great grandfather lies buried in Bucharest, had to leave the country thus as an exile. I had incurred the displeasure of the Nationalist faction by my literary work, and by my open advocacy of the cause of my brethren. Being ordered to leave my country, I demanded a passport and obtained one. There is the irony of the thing: I had to leave as an exile *with a passport!* John Bratiano and D. Sturdza were then at the head of the Government. Yet, at my reception by Their Majesties in August last, Her Majesty the Queen said to me: "We often grieve that you are no longer among us."

I call attention to this incident, only to emphasize the fact that no Jew, however high he may have been placed and however earnest his efforts may have been for the intellectual or material welfare of the country, is safe. An imprudent word, effective opposition to local blackmailing by police and administration, and on the morrow he may find himself a ruined and a broken man driven across the frontier, a homeless vagrant. To return to Roumania means to expose himself to the rigor of the law, which provides exemplary punishment and re-expulsion.

The Government has also been careful to break the last possible staff upon which the Jews could lean for self-protection, and for the assistance of their poorer brethren. By a ministerial decree the Jewish Communities have been dissolved. They have no *locus standi,* they are not recognized as "legal persons" and therefore cannot hold any property. Thus it is impossible for the Jews to combine and to establish charitable institutions on a communal basis, neither school, nor hospital, nor public bath, nor any other institution, for before the law no such thing exists as a Jewish Community. It has, therefore, happened that a public

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bath-house belonging to a Jewish community has been confiscated in one of the principal towns of Moldavia, for the reason that no one was recognized as the legal owner.

The Jews can not establish a "Gabella," a local meat tax from the meat slaughtered according to Jewish rites. To heighten the irony, the Roumanian local municipalities who rule the abbatoirs have arrogated to themselves the right to levy this very tax on the Jewish meat killed by Jewish slaughterers, and to apply the proceeds to their own needs, whilst depriving the Jews of any benefit.

The little charitable work that can be carried on in such a state of absolute anarchy is due solely to private initiative. With the increasing poverty, this source is also dwindling down, and thus the poor wretches are neither able to be represented nor to be helped, and misery is growing daily.

Those who have now grown old under persecution feel too weak and broken to venture upon a new life outside the old home. But what is there in store for the younger man, with every step beset by snares and pitfalls, every feeling of manhood stifled, every form of ignominy and hatred heaped upon him, abuse to the right of him and blackmail to the left, not sure of the morrow, not secure in his work, and in some cases not safe with his life. Only those who have lived in such a state can realize the terrible agony and suffering of these unfortunate people. No professional career is open to them. They may not even act as broker in commercial transactions, nor as assistant to a chemist, to a lawyer, or to any one engaged in technical work. The Jew may not teach, even in schools founded by Jews and kept with Jewish money.

Driven into the towns, where the demand for labor is not so great considering the primitive economic conditions, the Jews have to trade chiefly with one another. Roumanians, except the peasants, are as a rule either officials or desirous of becoming officials. The mercantile community and the artisan class consist chiefly of real foreigners, who have lived in the country for one generation or even less, and these are the people who claim rights as Roumanians, and who have to be propitiated by the persecution of the Jews. The state of the government often depends upon voters who are personally interested in removing the Jewish competition. There are very few native traders and still fewer

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genuine native workmen. To these the same bribe is offered—to restrict as much as possible the Jewish competition either by restrictive laws, or by regulations and boycott. Thus the little work left to the Jews is now forcibly taken away from them by the latest "Artisan law," which has at last roused the conscience of the world, for by it the Jews are now face to face with starvation.

It is to be wondered at how these people, in spite of their appalling poverty, can manage to keep clean and decent. Whoever has seen a group of Jewish emigrants from Roumania must have been surprised to find them scrupulously clean. As for their education, there are few Roumanian Jews who can not read and write. As to their skill, only a few examples may be cited. The khaki uniforms for the English army were made to a large extent by Jewish tailors who had emigrated from Roumania to England, and similarly a large proportion of the saddlery and leather-work used in the army during the last war was the work of Roumanian Jews in London.

These facts I had the honor of submitting recently to His Majesty the King of Roumania, when an audience had been granted me in Sinaia. His Majesty is conversant with all the details of the situation. To add that His Majesty, who has rescued Roumania from a state of primitive semi-barbarism and has raised it to the position which it now claims among the European nations, would be anxious to see the work accomplished by him placed on the firm foundations of internal peace, and to see the country assured of a flourishing and prosperous future, would merely express in a few words the programme planned by His Majesty. No wonder, therefore, that His Majesty would be pleased if he saw the political parties in Roumania adopting broader views, and sinking political quarrels in order to unite in a promising economic development of the country. The Jews are an essential economic factor in that development, and it is in the highest degree desirable for the benefit of the country itself to utilize the very forces which are now uselessly repressed. To grant them some security of life and limb, to remove the artificial barriers erected by narrow-minded political partisanship, to interpret honestly the law of expulsion, to banish the anomaly of "aliens not subject to an alien power," to place on a clear footing the social status of the Jews, and the position which they occupy in the legislative and administrative life of

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the country, and to give them the right and power of internal communal organization, would be just so many steps in the moral and economic development of the country. If only the leaders of political parties were endowed with a little of the perspicacity and love for the country evinced by His Majesty, we would not have to despair of its future. But for the time being, no ray is breaking through the storm clouds. The Government listens neither to the voice of reason, nor to that of humanity.

M. GASTER.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN.

BY THE REV. WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D. AUTHOR OF "THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE."

As the one white man living who, at a daimio's capital, saw the working of the Japanese feudal system, I cannot but call attention to the contrast in the methods of government in Japan in 1871 and in 1902. I shall never forget the excitement, the pale faces, the set teeth, and the angry scowls when the Mikado's order arrived in Fukui, bidding all the barons throughout the country to turn over all property and authority to the central Government, to leave their ancestral castles and land and come and live in Tokio. Men thrust their two swords in their belts and went in sullen mood from the Government house homeward, to brood over their "wrongs" and to meditate on the outcome of the unexpected. In good old-fashioned style, they plotted to kill the man thought to be locally responsible. Then it was government "despotism tempered by assassination." The first idea was that, when a man in office interfered of his own will with custom, he must be removed by the sword. In like manner, when a reformer called for change, he must seal his document with his own blood—that is, commit hara-kiri in order to show the sincerity of his convictions.

Then Chinese ideas reigned. Originality in thought was a crime. The golden age was in the past. Wisdom had died with the ancients. True progress consisted in returning to the ideals which had been settled æons ago. Change meant sacrilege and treason. The Mikado, of course, could do no wrong. The wicked ones were the ministers of the Government. Those who differed from the ministers in convictions of policy, who felt bound to remove them, were "instruments of Heaven's vengeance," who,

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after prayer, purification, and consecration—often reinforced in practice by many cups of *saké*—went forth to their bloody work with a document in their bosom explaining their pure purpose. After they had removed the head of the offending minister or properly slashed him to pieces, they opened their own bowels or surrendered themselves,—usually to be glorified after death, their graves enjoying perpetual decoration-day.

Matters are different now, though not all, for "things are not what they seem." Japanese words, though translated into English words that are supposed to be equivalents, do not have the same depth, perspective, fulness of contents, that English words have. History, heredity, race traits, are not altered in a day. We have in Japan a written constitution, parties, elections, and very much modern governmental machinery at home and abroad, and the Japanese wear clothes and decorations such as are seen in Europe. Nevertheless, let those who use the English language expect to be puzzled, as long as they suppose that the same words represent the same things in East and West, or that "the people" in the United States means the same as "the people" in Japan.

Nothing puzzles visitors in Japan so much as her political "parties." The smart interviewer on the world's highway will find that a famous statesman in Tokio is a "radical" to-day, a "conservative" to-morrow, and a man "in the middle of the road" the next noon. Indeed, so long as the traveller is under the spell of his own speech, he will give up the problem as insoluble. And, in truth, how is it possible for the globe-trotter, or even for the recent resident in Japan, to understand the phenomena of 1902, unless he knows not only something of Japanese history and the great Japanese personalities of our era, but also of the quality of the meat on which these new Cæsars have fed. Despite the fact that two or three Japanese names to-day loom up as though they were the makers of the New Japan, it is the hereditary forces that dominate. The intellectual history of the two or three brilliant men who stand in the world's gaze as "creators of modern Japan" is almost as important as their personality.

As the perspective of forty years now reveals it, the truth seems to be that there are in Japan two lines of thought and training, two courses of intellectual and ethical force. With even more reason and propriety than we apply the terms "conservative"

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and "progressive," we may describe the two main parties in Japan as the missionary or the Anglo-American party, and the Shinto or Prussian party. In reality, there are no conservatives; all are progressive and, in certain phases, radical.

On the one side we see such men as Okuma, Soyéshima, Itagaki, Shimada, and hosts of others, successors of a noble line who have ended their labors, whose purpose is not only political but ethical. They are the true representatives of the commonwealth and the people, liberal in politics, but conservative in social matters. They uphold personal and public morality. They believe in a written constitution which makes the ministers responsible to the Congress or Diet, to the people, and not to the sovereign. They have been educated in the historical documents and writings of English and American publicists. They admire English and American constructive men of action and wisdom. They have been trained in the art of conference, of assemblage for the public good. They do not believe in making sovereignty reside in the throne, but in the people rightly educated and controlled by high ethical standards and practices. They hold that the best things to borrow from the Occident are high ethical standards, and that the best things to conserve in the native civilization are the old ideals, transfigured and adapted to the new age of Bushido or Japanese chivalry. Their fundamental idea is that enunciated by Gladstone, "trust of the people, tempered by prudence."

The Shinto or Prussian party is based on the idea that all sovereignty resides in the Emperor; that the constitution is his gift to the nation; that the ministers must always be responsible to the sovereign and not to the Diet; that the Upper House must be the Emperor's creation and always his support; that the greater part of the constitution must be rigid and unamendable; that there must be great orders and dignities conferred by the Emperor and that everything must centre in him; that parties have nothing to do with the policy of the government; that even in the Lower House, as well as in the Upper, legislators are simply advisers, and the chief minister of the imperial will is the chancellor, who has subordinates but no associate; while, all through the body politic, the governors and the deliberate gatherings are to follow out the example of the upper personnel of the empire. In their strictest view, there is no state of Japan apart from the Imperial family.

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Is it not something like a great political miracle, or would it not be such, to have party government possible in a country and among a people whose leaders were born and reared in feudalism? To understand, even in a measure, Japanese parties in 1902, we must look back to their first beginnings.

In feudalism there existed no such thing as "the people," in any political sense. The sword had won and the sword held. Conquest and military dominion for six centuries, from the sixth to the twelfth, in Japan passed into feudalism for six centuries more, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth, during which the sword was the only ruler, though tempered by Buddhism and chivalry. Having no pressure of enemies from the outside, there arose of necessity two centres of government, the Throne and the Camp, the Mikado in Kioto among monks and nobles, the Shogun in Yedo among vassals and soldiers—in a word, theory and practice.

After Perry's apparition, native forces from within and the alien energies combined to produce a new resultant. First duarchy and then feudalism fell. An irresponsible ministry, made up of the victors of the Revolution of 1868, governed the country in the Mikado's name. Within a decade, two lines of thought were visible under the two leaders of opinion, Fukuwaza and Nakamura. The one economic and materialistic, the other ethical and socially conservative, issued in something like parties. Yet note that the genesis of these was not from the people, but from those scholars who in both body and mind had visited Occidental countries. It was not until 1870—when the American teachers had been eleven years in the land—that the idea of popular freedom took form. Then common folks, as well as the gentry, began to act. A decade of tremendous political agitation followed, during which the most remarkable phenomena of method and opinion startled the men of the old order. Plots thickened the air, assassinations were frequent, and the prisons were enlarged to hold editors and writers. The hand of the Government was forced, and in 1879 the Emperor gave his promise of a constitution and of a Diet to be formed in 1889. The beginning of the next decade was marked by the formation of the three parties, Liberal, Progressive, and Constitutional Imperial. Discussion and dissemination of ideas powerfully educated the nation. In 1889 the constitution was proclaimed, and the new Government came into

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being. We have had thirteen years of representative and party government, marked by frequent cabinet crises, dissolution and prorogation of parliament, only one ministry lasting twenty months, and only one parliament, the last one, continuing through the full period for which the members were elected.

Let us look at the platforms of these three parties. In theirs, the Liberals (1880) say nothing about the throne or the Emperor. The four principles laid down aim at the full extension and permanent preservation of the freedom and rights of the people; they declare that all men ought to be equal as to their rights, and that a constitutional government was best adapted to Japan. Here the ideas are English and American, with a flavor of the French, or, as some might say, the revolutionary and abstract. With many pure and able men, there was a long tail of uncertain and dangerous characters.

On the other hand, the Progressist party (1881) came chiefly from the middle class of society, and was made up of men perhaps better read and self-controlled and more anxious for safeguards. They laid emphasis less on the theories of Rousseau, Mill, and Spencer, than on the experience and the wisdom of those nations to whom self-government is second nature. In their platform we find that they aim to support and maintain the dignity of the throne, as well as to promote the happiness of the people. They believe that internal reformation must precede national expansion. They aim at the establishment of local self-government, with as little interference from the central Government as possible. They call for the gradual extension of popular suffrage as society improves, and urge the extension of commerce and the avoidance of political complications with foreign countries. Not a particle of abstract theory can be recognized in this platform, which is reformative, as against the revolutionary ideas of the Liberal Party. The Progressists inherited the ideas of the old Economic party, taking Bentham and Mill as their great teachers, without, however, reaching the noble ideas of the pure-minded Englishmen. Too often the working politician's conception of utilitarianism became a simple engine for getting office, while among the more ignorant it was the easy slide into a licentious life. In fact, both the liberalism and the utilitarianism of the lofty-minded English thinkers, as interpreted by men no longer bound by the old *vincula* of feudal ethics, wrought incalculable

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moral woe upon Japan. Nevertheless, the influence of these Occidental theories was powerful in tempering absolutism and in hastening the dawn of constitutional government.

It could hardly be expected that in the new political formations, when the first disentanglement from feudalism had been made, that there would be two parties only, for an idea and an institution, older by a millennium and a half than modern Occidental philosophy, was Mikadoism—the core of all Japanese history. Those who knew the nation's story saw clearly that neither the Liberal nor Progressist party was a sufficient exponent of Japanese life. They were not surprised at the formation (1881) of the Constitutional Imperial party, which, in four out of the eight principles asserted, emphasized the sovereignty of the Emperor as the basis of all order, the fountain of national life, and him as the giver of the constitution. "We shall not claim," said they, "any share in framing the constitution." The other four declarations insisted on the separation of the military from political affairs, the independence of the judicial power, the bicameral system of legislation, and liberty of speech, writing and assembly within the limits of the law and not prejudicial to peace and order. In a word, here is Shinto, though with its dogmas ignored. The demand is for government emanating wholly from the Emperor, though differentiated into the three great divisions of executive, legislative, and judicial, according to modern ideas, as some might say, or after the Hebrew prophet, who declared that "the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our King, He will save us." A devout Shintoist in full faith, or a Constitutional Imperialist in hope of office, might, with prudent reservations, replace the name of "the Lord" with that of the Mikado, and we should have the platform of his party. As matter of fact, this party was organized by men already in office to support the cause of "the Government"—of modern political phrase—against the two parties made up of men out of office. Its real, though not professed, leader was Count, now Marquis, Ito, and the platform was drafted under his eye, if not by his own pen. In fact, some of its phrases actually reappear in the text of the constitution. It was a dyke built around the divine right of the Emperor, and was intended to keep the throne impregnable against the rising waves of democracy. For their political philosophy, in order to justify

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themselves by Occidental precedents and teaching, the Imperialists of Japan adopted the theories of sovereignty taught in Germany, embodied in Prussia, and having its contemporaneous exemplar in Bismarck. On the issue of the Emperor's order to frame a constitution, Count Ito started for the West, passing through the United States and Great Britain, and making his main stay as to time, place, and intellect in Prussia. Count Bismarck being then in the height of his power, Ito learned from him the secret of a nominally constitutional government—making the ministers the servants first and always of the Mikado, and only mediately of the nation. Indeed, it was under the subjective influence of the Iron Chancellor that the constitution of Japan was drafted. Thus, with a Government in which all power was lodged in the Emperor, who had a chancellor for his executive minister, and legislative chambers whose function it was to discuss, but only within certain limits to make law, Ito returned to Japan in 1883 after a year's absence. He began the reorganization of Government by building around the throne a whole series of dykes of aristocratic orders, so as to keep back the on-rush of the rising democratic tide. Many opponents were won over by the decorations, titles, or offices so freely showered. When finally the constitution of 1889 was promulgated, it was found to be in accordance with the ideal of the Constitutional Imperialists, to the bitter disappointment of the men of the other parties. Instead of being a covenant between the throne and the people, or in any sense the natural outcome of prolonged agitation for liberty on the part of the nation, it was rather, like a French creation, a work of art and logic, and of extraordinary rigidity, in which only a certain percentage of power was given to the two houses of the Diet. The great structure was built upon the idea that the Mikado is the sole source of authority, and that he not only reigns, but governs. While the law of the Lower House, of the election of its members, and of finance was set forth as amendable by ordinary legislation, the law constituting the Upper House was really an imperial ordinance, amendable only at the initiation of the Emperor, with the consent of the House of Peers only. This Upper House was to be composed of the higher nobility as life members, of a certain number of the lower nobility elected by members of their respective orders, and of citizens nominated by the Mikado from among the highest tax-payers. In a word,

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the Upper House in both its organization and legislation was as another dyke against democratic tendencies. The legislative system was thus modelled closely on that of Prussia, and the real significance of the idea of two legislative bodies is obscured or lost, the crown being able at any time to control the Upper House by creating new peers. In short, the duty of the Diet is to give advice and to consent, the chambers being regarded as a council, and not as assemblies which are delegated by the people to control the Government.

Such being the case, it seems hardly possible that there should be any real party government in Japan. Foreign visitors, misled by phrases and the eloquence of native writers about "Japan's doing in a generation what it required other nations a thousand years to accomplish," find themselves in hopeless perplexity. For us it is not to praise or blame, but only to state the facts. Perhaps it was best that the nation emerging from feudalism should be governed only by the strong hand and the subtle brain. For a generation the Government seemed to rest with a committee of gentlemen from the two clans of Satsuma and Choshiu, the former excelling in military, the latter in civil, abilities—thus making a perfect combination, especially when occasionally a man of Tosa or Hizen was friendly helper. Speaking roughly, the great revolution of 1868 was carried through and on by a committee of four, Iwakura, Okubo, Saigo, and Kido. When Saigo dropped out, Okuma the Hizen man came in, while Itagaki of Tosa led the popular agitation for the abolition of "clan government." Itagaki had been called the Rousseau of Japan, and Okuma the Peel, though the avowed political purpose of both is identical. Yet, to show the inherent weakness of Japanese politics, regarded from the point of view that party government is the ideal one, while Itagaki was the moving spirit of the Liberals, Okuma organized a separate party called the Progressists. Thus, in the last analysis, a student discovers a difference of platform in words indeed, but discerns that the lines of attraction and repulsion are personal and not political. Strictly speaking, in Japan there has never been, with the exception of Saigo's leadership of the Satsuma rebellion of 1877, any real reaction. There are no Conservatives in politics. All have wanted to go forward, all desired constitutional and representative institutions, all urged the complete transformation of the Japanese into a

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modern man. It has been simply a question when,—whether to wait or not until the common people, as distinguished from the *samurai,* were prepared for the new ideas and methods. All pressed to the goal of reform in a written constitution and houses of parliament; yet, in the first actions which interpreted the platforms, one notes an utter absence of profound differences on ethical or moral principles. The predominant motive of the first agitation, under the name of party, was to oust the men in office and secure their positions.

At the first session of the Diet, it was soon evident that the consuming purpose of "the Opposition" was to get out those who were in, and that they looked upon the constitution and the Diet as the instruments by which they could effect their purposes. In the wise ambiguity in the text of the constitution—which neither admits nor denies the principle of parliamentary mandates—they found a new platform. Making an interpretation of the constitution which suited their purpose, and with obstruction as their weapon, they sought to paralyze the power of any ministry which would not obey the majority vote of the Lower House. For three years obstruction in the Diet was met by the Government's calling on the Emperor to prorogue and dissolve.

In 1894, during the war with China, all squabbles were forgotten in the presence of foreign danger. The first years of division were followed by an era of coalition, the votes on the budget for prosecuting the war being unanimous. When peace was made with China, the political war in Japan broke out afresh. The Progressists were chronic implacables, and the Liberals refused to support the Ito ministry in the *post-bellum* scheme of taxation of 1896.

Until 1898, therefore, government by party was a total failure. The capture of the offices long held by "the clansmen" had not been effected, nor had even the personal hopes of the would-be reformers been fulfilled. They now turned to the idea of union, and in 1898 the Progressists and Liberals fused together, adopting the name of the Constitutional Party, and commanding a working majority in the Lower House led by experienced chiefs. Seeing this, Ito did what his enemies say he always does when great difficulties confront him. He refused to face the obstacle and resigned. Okuma and Itagaki were called to form a cabinet. They did so, and for a time hope was high, but the theories of men out

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of office are apt to suffer a sea change when in office. The new people in power showed the same extraordinary avidity to put their friends and relatives under salary which had so long characterized the "clan" statesmen. To the disappointment of the nation and the mortification of the unselfish men of the parties, the new government went to pieces in six months.

Among the leaders of the Liberals was the famous Mr. Hoshi Toru, minister in Washington, a man never choice either in his language or methods, and the typically "strong" man in "practical" politics. When in America he learned the methods of the "bosses." This past master of political art as practised in London, New York, and the Tokio of the period, looking with no kindly eye upon the fusion of Liberal and Progressist, hurried back to Japan to break it up. From the moment of his arrival on home ground, it was evident that Manhattan Island methods had become fully operative in Tokio. He soon had control of the municipal council of the chief city of the Empire, whereupon patriotism and purchaseability were considered by many as interchangeable terms. His dexterity and nimbleness added immensely to his reputation, and on the fall of the Okuma cabinet he was the man in all eyes.

What was now to be done? The Progressists and Liberals had reformed on their old lines of personal affinities and antipathies, with ethics and policies in the far background. They now found they must make friends with Marquis Ito and "the elder statesmen," if victory were to be coaxed to perch on their banners. But, on one point, Ito was as implacable as he was consistent. He refused to adopt the principle of parliamentary cabinets, and he declared that, if he were made leader of a new party, he must be master. It may be true, as Shakspere declares, that "misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows," but, in the new and astonishing combination of Japanese politics, present hope excelled all past misery. The new bed of 1901 contained not a party, but a "kai," or "Association of Friends of the Constitution," and the chief plank in its platform was—that ministers were not responsible to the Diet! Thus on the one hand they (the Rikken Seiyu-kai) surrendered to the "clan statesmen" the very principle for which they had long been fighting, while on the other they handed over to the Progressists a principle which gave Opposition an intelligible principle or platform. In brief, person-

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ality was as yet stronger than partyism in Japan. The strong man was too great for the inchoate particles gathered under a name, for Ito was the one magnet that held the particles together. Happily, too, there was Mr. Hoshi Toru, who had long since learned the elasticity of American-built political platforms, and could read promises written both in sympathetic ink and in quickly-fading aniline. He understood not only how to take assertions in the Pickwickian sense, but he knew also just when a man, even though dead, was "a good enough free-mason until after election." Mr. Toru confirmed all halting or recalcitrant members of the new combination, by showing them that Marquis Ito's remarks about "irresponsible cabinets" were less disturbing than they might suppose, being intended merely as a polite verbal concession to conservative opinion. In a word, here was a "deal," between the subtle, "all round" clan statesman Ito, and the strong man Hoshi. The latter, for melting his party into the Seiyu-kai, was to govern economics and education, furnishing the popular elements of the new civilization, while Ito was to control the national policy in the Prussian style, in order to prevent reaction and to secure continuance of progress.

Among the old "clan statesmen" who considered that the Marquis Ito had gone back on his former principles and basely deserted his old comrades, was Yamagata, Field-Marshal in the Chino-Japanese war. The House of Peers was even more scandalized, and determined on quick vengeance against the traitors in their camp. Disgusted and roused to wrath also by the methods and prominence given to the gentleman returned from Manhattan, as well as Washington, they determined to show that they possessed, and could use, power. It came as a genuine surprise to Ito, when, having floated his financial measures through the Lower House, he found a rock in his way in the attitude of the Upper House. Almost as a matter of course, say his enemies, Marquis Ito appealed to the Emperor to intervene, and the difficulty was temporarily adjusted. Nevertheless, such recourses to the Mikado, too often repeated, might shake even the throne itself. Since 1868, there had been forty ministries, of an average duration of seven months, none surviving more than twenty months. There had been seven constitutional cabinets in eight years. The Diet had been dissolved by the Government five times, and there had been six suspensions of the Lower House for "unreasonable op-

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position" to the Government. Hence, seeing complications about to arise almost as disagreeable as those of the first year or two of parliamentary government, the subtle Ito flinched again, and resigned. This is what they say who declare that Ito is not a statesman, but an opportunist: "So long as things are going on smoothly without any great obstacles to his policy, he appears to be a great statesman; when the political world becomes stormy and a grave disaster is staring him in the face, his only alternative is to evade his responsibility by retiring from his position before a final catastrophe befalls him."

The new ministry that came into power was formed of the "elder statesmen," that is, of the men of 1868. They were unconnected with any party, and were led by Yamagata. It was evident that during their lifetime the principle of parliamentary cabinet would never be openly acknowledged as constitutional. The ministry of "the elders" lasted through the military operations of the Boxer period in China in 1900. When new diplomatic complications arose, requiring the highest civic ability, the Yamagata ministry ended late in September, 1900. The Emperor, using almost the language of filial respect, called Marquis Ito, for the fifth time, to form a cabinet. When this body began its work in October, instead of having, as in former instances, six or seven, or at least three or four, of the "elders" of 1868, it was seen that Marquis Ito alone, of the noble band of 1868, was now in office, all but himself being young men educated abroad, including five ex-Liberals, one being the "strong man," Hoshi Toru. The latter was so violently assailed by his enemies and in the press, which pointed to him as the source of the corruption in the Tokio Municipal Council, even stigmatizing him as "the chief of the public robbers," that Mr. Hoshi called for a public trial. He was acquitted. He then resigned from the cabinet, on the eve of the opening of the Diet.

The new Ito ministry suffered from the long illness of its chief, and before it had been six months in office split upon a rock. The tremendous expansion of Japan's naval, military, and commercial programme, following two wars in China, called for an amount of money which Japan had not in her possession. The alternative was a foreign loan, against which, with more sentiment than sense, many Japanese revolted. While all the rest of the cabinet believed in steady progress, the Minister of Finance

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wished to suspend the programme of expansion, and he obstinately persisted, wishing not only to defer but to postpone enterprise. By the 4th of May, 1901, the seriousness of the situation, foreshadowing impending collapse, was set forth in an amusing sketch in a comic paper at the capital. The residence of the obstinate Minister of Finance was at Toad Lake, and the crest of the Marquis Ito is the wistaria. The picture represented a huge toad squatting placidly under wistaria blossoms, while sprays of water fall on it from all directions. The point of the satire lies in a Japanese proverb describing what is absolutely useless—"pouring water in a frog's face." On the 21st of May, 1901, Ito went to the palace and tendered his resignation. The Minister of Finance refused to resign, but he had to obey the mandate of the Emperor. On June 8th, a new cabinet, made up for the most part of relatively obscure men and on the principle of absolute indifference to parties, was organized by the former Minister of War, the brilliant General Katsura. Next to strategy and tactics in the field, his powers lie in the line of conciliation and unity. In personal methods he is the opposite of Ito. On the 21st of June, "the strong man," Hoshi Toru, was assassinated by a genuine Conservative, Iba Sotaro, who held tenaciously to the old ideals, and was a close reader of the Chinese books which recommend the removal by murder of offensive politicians. This was the sixth actual assassination, and the ninth attempted, since 1868, on high officers of the Japanese Government, the record in the previous decade of men slaughtered for their political opinions being much larger.

Under the Katsura cabinet, things have worked smoothly because political agitation has temporarily quieted down, but this is only the lull before the storm.

In the constitutional development of Japan every experiment, except the coming and inevitable one of pure party government, has been tried, and every other theory has been put in practice and tested. How varied the list of experiments! Government by the "elders" or "clan statesmen" independent of political parties; government by the "elders" in coalition with a party; government by the combined parties independently of the "clan statesmen"; government by a party in combination with a section of the "elders"; government by a few of the "clan statesmen" independent of the other section,—have all been tried, and

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ended in failure. It seemed to be certain that, while the "elder statesmen" were living, real government by party and a cabinet obedient to parliamentary mandate could not exist. Nevertheless, the men of 1868, already greatly diminished by death, cannot live forever (Saigo, the youngest, died only a few weeks ago), and the principle of government by party has been practically recognized.

The last House of Representatives, though the only one that lived the full length of its legal life, did no particular credit to parliamentary institutions, and the nation saw its dissolution without grief. In the elections of August, 1902, the new law of voting went into operation for the first time. It was more favorable to the expression of minor constituencies. It required a candidate to appeal to a whole prefecture instead of to a small district, while the ballot, instead of being stamped and open, was secret. With commendable order the elections were held throughout the Empire, though the great rainstorms in the south prevented the full results from being quickly known. The results show that, while almost all of the old members of the Lower House stood for election, only about one-fourth of them were returned. Other interesting results followed, but what is of supreme importance is that government by party is now possible to the Japanese, because, for the first time in their history, one party is paramount. The Ito Association of Friends of the Constitution completely dominates the situation. Above Progressists, Independents, Imperialists, and minor groups, the Seiyu-kai has not only a majority, but a plurality. Nevertheless, the Progressists have a minority so respectable in numbers, strong in organization, and rich in abilities, and under such astute leadership, that the Ito party will have to be both wise and moderate. The latest returns distribute the seats as follows: Seiyu-kai, 192; Progressists, 104; Imperialists, 20; Independents, 59; and one invalid election—the total being 376.

Meanwhile, the Katsura ministry has developed such personal fitness for office and such shining talent in execution, that it has been wondered whether the Premier and his assistants would at once hand over their office and power to others. Yet no one doubts that they will. With the incoming of a purely party ministry, "the elders" will retire from executive activity, and younger men, educated for the most part in Western countries, will guide the ship of state. The vital questions to come before the Diet in No-

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vember, 1902, are the expansion of the country's trade and industries, the reduction or maintenance of the present amount of the land tax, the increase of the navy, and the general fulfilment of the tremendously ambitious programme outlined after the war with China in 1894-95. Victory in war is always costly, sometimes as much so as defeat; and since Japan triumphed and became a "Power," she must advance or retreat, and the latter word is not in her vocabulary. A definite stalwart foreign policy is demanded by her new position. A wise home policy is vitally necessary. It is not as to the end that Japanese parties differ, it is only as to means. The Progressists demand right principle rather than material show, even though progress be at a slower pace. They are bent on securing parliamentary supremacy. Despite the overwhelming numbers of the Seiyu-kai, they are less homogeneous in composition, and even so profoundly experienced and so superbly equipped and "all around" a statesman as Marquis Ito may have more difficulty with his party than in coping with the general political situation. This requires sound finances and popular content at home, and power to curb Russia on the Asian continent, or, at least, to retard the movement of the Muscovite glacier.

It seems evident that the logic of fact and the overwhelming influence of the English-speaking nations, under whose tutelage the majority of the newer generation of Japanese scholars and publicists have been reared, must dominate the situation. Japan will then be in reality a nation with representative institutions and parliamentary government. Meanwhile, the student of Japanese history, and the well-wisher of the most hopeful nation in Asia, must be thankful for the conservatism of the "elders" and of Marquis Ito, which has so long guided the nation to its education, its strengthening, and its ultimate advantage. Their record is a noble one, and their fame as constructive statesmen sure. Nor can one who has had a hand in helping to lay the foundations of that public-school "education," which the Japanese themselves a generation ago declared to be "the basis of all progress," falter in his faith that Japan will yet solve nobly the problem of transit from mediævalism to the modern life of the "living nations."

WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

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THE STORY OF OUR FARM.

BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET.

We wander through a whole gallery of recollections when we conjure up the pictures that are presented to us by the words "An English Farm." We recall pleasant orchards, gay flower-borders, an ivy-clad house, a shady herb-garden, and the restful green of English meadows where cows are pastured.

Among the Surrey hills, amidst wide-spreading oaks, there stands a red-brick farm-house. Sunny gardens slope away to the meadows, and velvet lawns divide the flower-borders. Monthly roses and hollyhocks bloom against the clipped yew hedge, and across the fields the distance rolls away to the chalk hills, the summit of which is crowned by the dark yew trees which line the Pilgrims' Way to Canterbury, made immortal by the song of Chaucer. If we follow the path across the fields, we shall go but a little distance before we come to a quadrangle of small thatched cottages. Against the walls the white roses are climbing with a profusion of snowy blossom; dainty white curtains wave in the summer breeze as the windows stand ajar, and under the porches beneath the clematis and creepers groups of women are sitting, some knitting, some talking, while others are leaning against the white gate, and the sound of children's voices is heard over the distant fields. Across the road there stands the little church, and more cottages surround it; and again beyond, another group nestling on the border of the wood. Presently, children clad in scarlet come dancing across the fields in a long line, shouting as they go, with wreaths of wild roses and honeysuckle and branches in their hands; and as the women look they laugh, and the lines of care are smoothed from weary brows, and on older faces wrinkles are lost in smiles.

By-and-by, evening comes, and the lights twinkle in the win-

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dows, and the children are lying at rest; the birds have ceased to sing now, and only the voice of the nightingale is heard in the hedge. But there are no footsteps to tell us of men returning home, no women going out to meet bread-winners, for this is not a village where family life is lived, but rather one where it is rebuilt. The women and children who live on this farm have a story which I am about to tell.

But in order rightly to understand what this Colony means, we must leave for a moment the fields and the flowers and the birds and beasts, and go into the dingy city, and pass the courts and the alleys and the pawnbrokers' shops and the old-clothes shops; we must go down into the kitchens where the rats share the damp darkness with the inhabitants, and then walk out again into the dusty street; and then we shall begin to understand what is the centre of attraction to the dwellers in the narrow court and gloomy slum. At the corner of the street there is a public house; and, if we watch that swinging-door for a moment, we shall be able to realize why it is that in England there are more drunken women than in any other nation, and how it is that the brewers have made larger fortunes than can be amassed at any other trade. Between the hours of one and three o'clock, you will see in this squalid district from one hundred to two hundred women enter the drink-shop with little babies in their arms; and, as those women crowd into that public house and stand to drink, they will often give the baby a share of the liquor, and the little mouth will greedily suck the spoon or the glass that has in it the taste of gin. Between those hours, too, you will see a hundred and fifty or two hundred girls, with tattered clothes, torn pinafores, some almost shoeless, all ragged, all dirty, all dishevelled, entering with jugs to carry away the drink to their miserable homes. As many boys under the age of fourteen or fifteen will be there too, making perhaps a total in one afternoon of five hundred children. I remember on one occasion standing in front of just such a public house (and if you look down the street, you will see that there are twenty more), with an American, and when she saw the women going into the public house, some of them respectably clad, she said: "Are they going to hold a Crusade meeting there, as they did in America twenty years ago?" It seemed to her inconceivable that women were going there to drink; but to us it has become a commonplace, and those

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who know anything of the social life of the people in England have long realized that children are drunk for the first time in their mothers' arms, or cursed with the appetite before they are born. In their earliest association, the public house stands as the most prominent factor in their existence, and has stored their minds with the impressions of everything that is vile and bad.

But there is another picture of our social life of which I have to speak before I go back again to the country farm; and, in order to bring this before the minds of those who are interested in social problems, I must ask them to go inside a large London drink-den. There you will find that the finest houses are supplied with a great number of entrances, six, eight, or ten; and each of these entrances leads into a separate small bar; and, if you are inclined to sit for a moment and ask for a glass of lemonade, you can watch those who pass in and out. A young girl well dressed and of respectable parentage will come in, accompanied by the young man to whom she is engaged, and they will call for a glass of spirits or beer, and sit down to drink as a matter of course. A middle-aged woman who has known better days draws her mantle about her, and looks round to see if any one has noticed that she has crossed that threshold; her face is pale and drawn, and she has anxious lines round her eyes. Employment is hard to get, and she is going to try and forget how difficult it is to live, as she carries in her thin, trembling hand a glass of neat spirit to the further corner of the bar. Then there are a middle-aged man and his wife who ask for beer, a woman with a baby and a young husband; the baby cries, and the mother dips her finger in her glass and rubs its lips. A little noise in another bar tells us that there a different class has assembled, and there we see the ragged denizens of the slums; but every class is represented, and among them women are prominently to be found.

What wonder, then, that as we read the annals of our English police courts we realize that drunkenness has not only invaded the homes of the poorest of the people, but also that drinking is alarmingly on the increase among women of the wealthy and the leisured classes; that not only are destitute and degraded women committed to our prisons who are unable to pay the fine, but that women in apparently respectable positions are continually convicted of drunkenness, until it may be truly said that scarcely a family exists but has some record of this hideous disease.

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Many and perplexing are the causes that have led to this result, and it is obviously the duty of the reformer to inquire into these causes, and to endeavor to change the current that has brought such a flood of disaster; but it is also the duty of the Christian to deal with the effects of ill, and to endeavor to save the individual, as well as to protect the race. For many years, therefore, earnest men and women have sought to solve the problem as to how best to deal with the victims of alcohol. Homes have been started again and again which have sought to reclaim the drunkard, and to start the victim in a new and better way; but, although these attempts have met with a measure of success, it has been universally acknowledged that it has been work that has seemed hitherto difficult and wellnigh hopeless.

In studying the methods that have been adopted, it has always seemed to me that they erred either on one side or on the other; either inebriety was looked upon wholly as a physical disease, or else it was treated entirely as a moral failing; but the combination of both these truths seemed to be lacking. Some years ago a book, entitled "A Colony of Mercy," came into my hands. It was an account of the great work carried on by Pastor Von Bodelschwingh among the epileptics of Germany; and, as I read of their village homes, I realized that just such treatment might be applied to other cases of diseased humanity, and that alcoholism could be treated in much the same way. Thus, little by little, the scheme of the Farm Colony was unfolded, until it materialized in the village which I have just described. There were two principles that appeared to me to be the foundations upon which our Colony must be built: one was the village system, and the other was the absolute necessity of out-door occupation. The accepted idea of an institution must be abandoned. We shall awake, I believe, some day fully to the consciousness of the fact that we have adopted hitherto unscientific methods in dealing with the defective and delinquent classes. In the case of women who have given way to alcoholism, the work of restoration must be accomplished physically and morally. We have to keep before us the fact that what they need is a hospital. Each case must be individually diagnosed. The many reasons for drunkenness must be arrived at. Some are rooted in disease; some have acquired the habit through habitually taking insufficient food, or food that does not nourish; others through living in unwholesome localities; and

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many, and probably most, because they have been surrounded by temptation and have inherited tendencies. After these cases have passed through the hospital, we have to endeavor to find the best process for re-building self-respect and physical and moral health. It is impossible to contemplate housing such cases together with any sort of hope of a successful cure. The first thing to do is to give them an ideal of home. Now, most of these women have shattered every ideal, broken their homes and alienated their families. Consequently, we decided to divide this Colony into cottages, simply furnished with just such utensils as every respectable home should possess; clean, dainty, and pretty; each cottage presided over by a nurse sister who knows the women individually, understands our patients' requirements, and watches over them with personal care.

Then, as to occupation, the inmates are employed almost entirely out-of-doors. We have in alcoholism to combat an evil which is not only moral, but physical; and the best antidote for the poison which has destroyed their lives is to be found in pure air and bright sunshine. The wholesome work on the lawns, in the flower-beds, in the vegetable-garden, and in the forcing-houses has proved to us the value of the system; and we have seen women who come utter wrecks built up in a manner which it would be difficult to believe possible if we had not ourselves witnessed it. In the early morning groups of women can be seen leaving the cottages for their work in the farm gardens. They wear rough serge aprons and straw hats. They go to their daily task cheerful and happy, some to grow tomatoes in the glass houses, or cucumbers for the early market; and the exquisite regularity of these houses, the cleanliness and care with which the plants are kept, have demonstrated at any rate the fact that gardening is an occupation which has hitherto been overlooked among the professions suitable to women. In the summer-time, our women can be seen, with large baskets, picking fruit for the London market, and in the winter sorting seeds or basket-making. A lady gardener trained at Swanley College undertakes the management of the out-door work, and organizes the labor.

But not only is the occupation of gardening of great physical value; it is also of moral worth. To most of these women, the recollections of the past are full of bitterness and shame, and anything in their occupations that is associated with what has gone

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before brings with it only sadness and remorse. Work in the garden, however, has in it no associations; it is all new to them. Some of them have never seen a blade of grass grow, and to watch the labor of their hands blossom into beauty, to see "the kindly fruits of the earth" spring into life under their care, brings with it a sort of new hope and happiness. We believe in work, and hard work; but we believe that it should be varied as much as possible, and always if practicable in the open air. We have found that bee-keeping has also been of interest and profit, and the women manage the dairy and the stock.

Besides such out-door occupations, we have also work-room industries. We have started looms in which the women have woven beautiful linen in white and colors, and the embroidery which quite unskilled workers have been able to produce has astonished many experts who could scarcely believe that such results could be obtained. The secret lies in the fact that the women are really interested in their employment, and eager to produce beautiful results, because not only is a great personal interest taken in their occupations by the staff of the Colony, but they themselves are astonished to find how, in a comparatively short time, they can learn really artistic work.

Now, it may seem that the methods adopted to reclaim the few hundreds of women who come to us have little import, when we regard the great mass of those who need such treatment. I think, however, that we can do nothing of greater value than to produce object lessons to demonstrate what can be carried out on a larger and wider scale. I feel certain that, if we had a more reasonable method of classifying our criminals, we should do a far more effectual work in the reclamation of those who have not gone far down the perilous precipice of crime. We hear a great deal in these days about saving the masses; but none can be saved as masses, only as individuals. If we want to save the criminal class, it is the individual criminals that we need to reach, each having his own special difficulty, his own sin that requires to be forgiven, his own character that must be re-made. In like manner, when we deal with want, we must understand that every individual life requires patient effort, wisely to direct it and lovingly to alleviate its misery, and we must recognize that the keynote of the gospel of Christ is His teaching of the infinite value of the individual. From the hour when He told His fol-

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lowers the story of the one lost sheep, and drew the picture of the shepherd who left all the rest and went into the bleak mountain fastness until he had rescued the straying lamb—through all the history of His life and dealings with men—He emphasizes the value of the individual. In the house of the rich man, He individualized the woman whose act of loving penitence was to be told to all the world; in His words to the young man who came with puzzled question, and on whom He looked with the eyes of tenderest compassion, and beholding him loved him, He showed that He loved the individual for his desire, pitied him because He knew that he would not live up to his aspiration. He knew the idiosyncrasies of St. Peter, the difficulties of St. Thomas, the penitence of the Magdalene, the tenderness of His mother; each one stood out before Him, clearly outlined on the horizon of His mind, and it is this knowledge of the methods of Jesus that should make us realize that we have to give ourselves to the men and women one by one, whom we want to rescue. And so, if we are to be of any use in the world; if in our day the world is to be cleansed from the violence done through strong drink, from the iniquity of the sweating system; if the ignorant are to be taught and the degraded raised; if the power of drink is to be trodden under foot; it can only be as we accept the mission to the individual.

But, further than this, I think that we have been able to prove by the way in which we have dealt with the women at the Farm Colony that short terms of imprisonment are a failure, and that Homes, in the real sense of the word, managed on the lines that we have indicated, are successful in dealing with cases which the ordinary prison treatment would only harden and confirm in evil ways. Of the need of such an institution as ours there has been ample proof. Three thousand cases were refused in one year, all probably eligible for admission, simply for want of room.

Since we founded our Colony, an amendment to the Inebriate Act has been passed, by which habitual inebriates who have been convicted three times before a magistrate can be sent by the bench to a reformatory instead of to prison; but the working of the Act is still unsatisfactory. There is no proper classification between the criminal who is incidentally a drunkard, and the drunkard who is incidentally a criminal; and therein lies a whole world of difference. We have had many women who have been con-

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victed of crime committed under the influence of drink, who are not in the real sense of the word criminals; and we have had women who are constant drinkers, but whose life is one of habitual crime, in which drunkenness forms but a part; and, until such a classification is properly carried out, the reformatories will be nothing but amateur prisons, and the results wholly unsatisfactory. We have, however, a strong hope and belief that the work which has been begun in the Farm Colony will make its mark upon the penal system of the country.

Our Medical Officer has proved beyond dispute that, up to the present time, sixty-five per cent. of the cases which have been dismissed are standing well, a far larger proportion of cures than has been attained under any other system. The history of individual cases is a source of constant interest, and the study of the characters that have come to us has proved, I think, indisputably that those who are considered often most hopeless under prison regulations can be reclaimed by a discipline of love.

In the early days of the Farm Colony, a woman was sent from Holloway Prison who had earned there the sobriquet of "the Terror of Holloway." She had been imprisoned nearly three hundred times, and she was sent to us as a test, because she was considered by the prison authorities as an almost hopeless case. Ragged, tattered and torn, old beyond her years, she came among us. After the first weeks had passed and the craving for alcohol had subsided, and the wholesome work and plentiful nourishment had in a measure restored her health, like the Prodigal Son she "came to herself"; and during the year she remained with us, we had no more tractable, docile, affectionate patient. She left us at the end of twelve months; but her health had been shattered by constant imprisonment, and by drifting backwards and forwards from the cell of the jail to the streets of the city, to starve or to drink until brought back again to discipline and punishment; and at the end of six months she died. But she remained perfectly true, although in the midst of her old temptations, to the new and blessed life that she had found, and to the principles that she had learned.

I can think of a procession of women who have returned to their homes, whose husbands have gladly taken them back again, whose children are happy, and who have begun life once more with a new ideal of what a home should be, a new conception of

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what life means to them. This has been brought about by no startling revivals, by no sudden change, but by the gradual leaven that love has worked in their lives. I am strongly of opinion that, if our younger criminals were dealt with by such methods, we should have a very much larger proportion of reformed prisoners than is produced by any penal system in vogue in England.

But the children—that is another side of the picture. The children are not there because they drink, but they are there because they are the children of the drunkards. It is these children who come to a building which is called "The Birds' Nest," and they come there for two reasons; first, because we know that we can help them, and then, because we can bring nothing into the lives of the women who come to our Colony to be cured of inebriety better than the hope and interest which the children can give to them.

Our great desire in founding the village was to make it as much like an ordinary village as possible, and the children coming and going and playing about have helped to dissipate the idea of institutional or penal life, for it is part of the women's work to help entertain the children when they come. But the Nest has another object. There is something particularly fitting in the fact that such a cottage should form part of an inebriate home, for children are the greatest sufferers from the curse of drink, and we realize more every year that, if we want to help people to live better and purer lives, we must begin to teach them better and purer things very early. Now, these children come to us from the very poorest London slums. They come to us in such dirt and rags that none of their clothing can be brought into any of our houses. The women see the children when they arrive, they help to bathe them (and it would be difficult to write what that means), and then they dress them in the pretty clothes provided, and they watch the children from day to day, the little pale faces that look as though they were wizened with premature age growing younger, till the hard look vanishes from them, and they begin to realize the difference that happiness makes to the life of a child. And then the children will tell them quite simply, as they sit on the door-steps in the summer evening, of the misery of their lives with a drunken father or mother; and, as the tears have rolled down those women's faces, we have known that the children have spoken sermons which we could not preach.

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But it would be difficult to say what this country holiday means to the children themselves. The idea of such a holiday is to teach these children that life is not all misery, that the world is not all a slum, that they can come into fairyland for a whole fortnight and be real children, and then go back with a new idea of life, of fields that are green, of a sky that is blue, and they never forget the picture. Two years ago, a child came down to stay with us who had been neglected by her drunken mother. Even the neighbors complained of the condition the child was in. She was made radiantly happy. She used to wander into the fields to hear the "cows growling," and she sang songs all day long. The clothes she had come down in were so dirty that we had been obliged to burn them; and so, when she went back, we gave her a new outfit. When I saw her mother for the first time, she told me that she had gone to the station to meet her child coming back from the Nest, and that, when she had seen her looking so well and so prettily dressed, she felt as though her very heart would break and she cried. Since then the woman has given up drinking, and when I saw the child lately she was quite as clean and as pretty as she had been while she was with us at the Nest. Her mother told me she did nothing but talk of Duxhurst all the year round, and that every day she would tell her some little tale of pleasure they had had at the Nest that she had forgotten to mention before.

And so for women and for children what does all this mean? It means that there comes into their lives, perhaps, a vision that they can never forget; that they see the possibility of another life and an ideal which they may live up to; that they have learned to know they have a friend, a Friend who does not turn from them in misfortune, and who does not leave them in anger when they wander from Him. And I know that to-day there are many who have set their faces homeward, who have been led back from the far country through the sunny fields of our Farm Colony.

ISABEL SOMERSET.

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THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.—II.

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

DEBT-MAKING DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

The financial difficulties which confronted President Lincoln and his associates on March 4, 1861, were indeed grave. Seven States had already passed ordinances of secession; a vessel bearing supplies to Fort Sumter had been fired upon; civil war was not only threatened but already at hand; the public credit had fallen so low that from the last loan only a small sum could be realized, even at the rate of 12 per cent. interest; and the Treasury funds were so low that on the preceding December there was not sufficient money to pay members of Congress. Salmon P. Chase, Mr. Lincoln's choice for Secretary of the Treasury, at first declined the position, urging that he was not fitted for it by education or habits; but he finally yielded to the desire of the President and others, and was unanimously confirmed by the Senate. When he assumed the duties of his office he found that there were three acts, passed during the closing session of the preceding Congress, under which he could make loans; and on March 22 he advertised for proposals for a loan of $8,000,000. To his surprise and gratification, the offers for the loan amounted to over $27,000,000, at prices ranging from 85 to 100 cents on the dollar, most of the bids being at 92. The heart of the loyal people had responded to the country's needs. There was some question as to whether the loan could be better issued in the form of bonds or Treasury notes, since the latter would serve as currency to take the place of the rapidly disappearing specie. Mr. Chase, after much consideration, decided to divide the loan between the two methods, and accepted bids for about $3,000,000 in bonds and issued the remainder, about $5,000,000, in Treas-

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ury notes. These Treasury notes, however, were not a forced currency or to be classed as "flat money." They were not made a legal tender, were made payable to the order of the persons receiving them, drew 6 per cent. interest payable semi-annually, and were convertible into bonds and receivable for public dues. They thus differed from the legal-tender notes subsequently issued in the fact that they promised to pay at a definite date and to a specified person; that they bore interest and were not made by law a legal tender; while the legal-tender notes or "greenbacks" were promises to pay, without name, without date, without interest, and were made by law a legal tender. The small sum realized by the first loan lasted but a few weeks in the preparations for war which were then necessary. On May 11, another loan of $9,000,000 was advertised; but, as the war had actually been begun by the attack on Fort Sumter on April 12, the response was not as satisfactory as that of March, the prices offered ranging from 85 to 93. Bonds were issued under this for $7,310,000, and the remainder in Treasury notes at par. In June, the Secretary advertised for proposals at par for another loan, but failed to receive satisfactory responses, and he issued $12,584,000 in Treasury notes to those who chose to purchase them at par, issuing the remainder in payment of public creditors.

When Congress met on July 4, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury expressed the opinion that $240,000,000 should be raised by borrowing, and that the public revenues should be increased by additional tariff duties and by internal revenue taxation. Within four days of the receipt of this recommendation, a bill authorizing the Secretary to borrow $250,000,000 passed the House after only one hour of general debate, and three days later it passed the Senate. It authorized several methods of raising the loan: (1) by bonds bearing 7 per cent. interest, redeemable after twenty years at the pleasure of the Government; (2) by the issue of Treasury notes of not less than $50, payable three years after date and bearing 7 per cent. interest and convertible into 6 per cent. twenty-year bonds; (3) small Treasury notes bearing no interest and payable on demand; (4) Treasury notes payable in one year, bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, exchangeable for Treasury notes of $50 and upwards. This was the first act which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow money, that

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authority having formerly been granted to the President and Secretary. A supplemental bill was also passed authorizing the issue of Treasury notes of $5, and requiring that all Treasury notes of less than $50 and payable on demand without interest should be receivable in payment of public dues.

Congress adjourned on August 6, and the Secretary, armed with the authority of these acts, hastened to New York, and on the evening of August 9 met a group of financiers and bankers at the residence of the Assistant-Treasurer. The situation was fully discussed, and on the following day a further consultation was held, when a committee was appointed to devise a plan for the aid of the Government. On the fifteenth of that month the committee reported, and their plan was accepted by the bankers of New York, Philadelphia and Boston. The proposition was that the Government should issue at once $50,000,000 in Treasury notes bearing 7.3 per cent. interest, and running three years; and these the bankers would take, with the privilege of taking $50,000,000 more within two months and another $50,000,000 in another two months, the banks to subscribe in proportion to their capital, no other loan (except demand notes) to be issued by the Government during the period in which the three issues were to be made. The capital of the banks making this agreement was $120,000,000, and their coin assets $63,000,000. In order that the small amount of specie in circulation might be aided as far as possible by other machinery of circulation, the banks recommended that the Secretary make his payments by checks upon the banks instead of making them by specie; but the Secretary doubted his authority to do this and refused. The banks, however, took the bonds as they had agreed and paid the specie for them into the Treasury at the rate of about $1,000,000 per day. For a time the specie paid out by the Treasury Department remained in circulation and flowed back to the banks, but it gradually grew less, and the volume of demand Treasury notes increased. By December 10, the coin reserve of the New York banks had fallen one-half, and on December 28, 1861, they decided to suspend specie payments; and, as the payment of specie by the Government depended largely on the action of the banks, it also suspended specie payments.

Within two days of the suspension of specie payments by the banks and the Government, a bill was introduced in the House

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providing for the issue of demand Treasury notes bearing no interest, to be receivable for all debts and demands due to the United States and for all debts and demands due from the United States, to be received in exchange for United States bonds, and to be a legal tender for all debts public or private within the United States. It was a new and startling proposition, and was strongly opposed by many in Congress and elsewhere; but the exigencies of the situation required action, and on February 25, 1862, it became a law in a slightly modified form. It authorized the issue by the Treasury Department of $150,000,000 of the notes, payable on demand, without interest, which were to be received for all payments by the United States, except the interest on its bonds and notes, which was to be paid in coin, and were to be accepted for all dues and payments to the United States, including the purchase of its bonds, except duties on imports, and were to be a legal tender in all transactions between individuals, or between the Government and individuals or corporations. This was the birth of the United States Legal Tender notes, popularly known as "greenbacks." On July 11 of the same year, another issue of $150,000,000 was authorized, and on March 3, 1863, still another issue of $150,000,000 in small denominations was authorized, $100,000,000 of which, however, was to take the place of others of larger denominations, thus making the total authorized issue $450,000,000. This was reduced by subsequent acts to $346,681,016. The gold value of these notes fluctuated greatly, being quickly affected by the conditions in the field, the reverses of the Union army being followed by a reduction in their value, and its successes by advances in value. In 1862 they averaged 88 cents on the dollar; in 1863 they averaged 69 cents; in July, 1864, they fell as low as 38.7 cents on the dollar, and for the year averaged 49.2 cents; by July, 1865, they were 70 cents, and then slowly moved upward and stood at par when specie payments were resumed on January 1, 1879. From the date of their issue in 1862, they became the chief circulating medium, until they were supplemented by the national bank-notes in 1864 and 1865. They were at all times accepted at par for the purchase of the bonds and Treasury notes issued by the Government, and a large proportion of the bonds sold by the Government after 1862 were paid for with them or with other obligations of the Government.

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Another form of borrowing which was entered upon at this time was by an act which authorized the deposit of United States notes by individuals or corporations with the Treasury, the sub-Treasuries, or designated depositories, for which certificates of deposit bearing 5 per cent. interest were to be given. The banks found that these certificates were convenient for use in settling clearing-house balances and otherwise; and as they drew interest and the notes did not, they readily took advantage of the opportunity, and deposits of this character were freely made. The amount that the Secretary was at first authorized to accept on deposit was $25,000,000, but this was increased to $100,000,000 in 1862; and as the law only required him to keep $16,000,000 of this sum on hand to redeem the certificates of deposit, it gave a considerable sum for use in the daily transactions of the Treasury. In 1864 the limit of deposits of this character which could be received was extended to $150,000,000 and the rate of interest increased to 6 per cent. The total amount deposited in this manner was over $700,000,000, the largest sum on deposit at any time being $149,500,000, in June, 1866. Still another form of temporary loan was created by an act which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue certificates of indebtedness to creditors of the Government in satisfaction of audited and settled claims of $1,000 or more, these certificates to bear interest at 6 per cent., and to be payable within one year. These certificates circulated until the accumulation of interest was sufficient to justify the holders in retaining them as an investment, and the practice of issuing them to those willing to receive them continued to the end of the war, the total amount so issued being $561,000,000.

The act of February 25, 1862, which authorized the first issue of legal-tender notes, or "greenbacks," also authorized the issue of $500,000,000 in bonds, redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after five years and payable in twenty years, bearing interest at 6 per cent., to be disposed of at their market value for specie or any Treasury notes that had been or might be issued, or for the legal-tender notes to be free from all National, State, municipal or local taxation, the interest to be paid in coin. An effort was made to dispose of the bonds, but currency was scarce, and as the Secretary also held that the term "at their market value" did not authorize him to sell them below par, the issues of that year were but about $13,000,000. In March, 1863, an

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act was passed removing the limitation as to the price at which they might be sold. Under this enlarged power the Secretary made a contract with Jay Cooke, of Philadelphia, to sell the bonds, paying him a commission of one-half of one per cent. on the first $10,000,000 sold, and three-eights of one per cent. on the remainder of his sales. Mr. Cooke, who had been active in obtaining subscriptions to the loan of 1861, immediately appointed agents in all parts of the country and advertised the bonds extensively, and by January, 1864, the entire loan of $500,000,000 had been sold at an average premium of one-third of one per cent. The subscriptions were so plentiful that they exceeded the total authorized loan by $11,000,000 before the sales by subscription agents could be stopped.

On July 1, 1864, Mr. Chase retired from the Treasury and was succeeded by Mr. Fessenden, who only occupied the position until the following March, when he entered the Senate and Mr. McCulloch became Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Chase became Secretary of the Treasury March 4, 1861, and retired July 1, 1864. The interest-bearing debt during his service stood as follows: July 1, 1861, $90,380,873; July 1, 1862, $365,304,826; July 1, 1863, $707,531,634; July 1, 1864, $1,359,930,763. In addition to this the "debt bearing no interest" (chiefly legal-tender notes) had grown from nothing to $455,437,271. The success of the Union cause was, however, practically assured at the date of his retirement, although some of the severest battles of the war occurred during the ten months of war which still remained. Mr. Fessenden, during his service, added about $200,000,000 to the interest-bearing debt in various issues of bonds and Treasury notes under the authority of existing acts.

When Mr. McCulloch became Secretary of the Treasury on March 4, 1865, the end of the war was in sight, but he realized that large sums would be required for the pay, bounties, and transportation of the troops and for other expenses of disbanding the army. He immediately issued $70,000,000 of three-year Treasury notes, and then proceeded to offer $530,000,000 of Treasury notes and bonds, under authority of an act passed the day before his accession to the Treasury Department. These securities were offered in the form of Treasury notes of not less than $50, with three years to run, bearing 7.3 per cent. interest in currency, or 6 per cent. in coin; or bonds payable after five years

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at the pleasure of the Government, and with the same interest rates as the Treasury notes, the bonds also to be for not less than $50. These notes and bonds were offered in small denominations with the purpose of making the loan a popular one and distributing it among the masses, and this plan was successful. The Treasury Department again utilized the experience of Jay Cooke, and so popular was the loan and so prompt the response of the people to this final call for funds to pay the closing expenses of the war that the entire available sum, amounting to $530,000,000, was taken within a few weeks at a premium of from one to three per cent., short-term Treasury notes forming more than one-half of the total. This was the largest sum of money ever gathered from the people, in the form of a popular loan, up to that time, and it terminated the great loans of the war and brought the national indebtedness to high-water mark, the total on August 1, 1865, being $2,381,530,294 of interest-bearing debt, and $461,616,311 of non-interestbearing debt. The debt, less cash in the Treasury, then stood at $78.25 *per capita,* and the annual interest charge $4.29 *per capita.* To-day the debt is $13.45 *per capita,* and the annual interest charge 38 cents *per capita.*

REFUNDING AND REDUCTION OF THE CIVIL WAR DEBT.

The termination of the war did not, however, terminate the duties and anxieties of the financiers and law-makers of the Government. More than a billion dollars of outstanding obligations of the Government would fall due in 1867 and 1868, and the rate of interest being paid on most of it was 7.3 per cent. It was important not only to provide ways and means to meet these obligations when they should fall due, but, if possible, to reduce the very high and burdensome rate of interest. An act passed March 3, 1865, had authorized the issue of $600,000,000 in bonds with interest at 6 per cent. if paid in coin, and it also authorized the Secretary, in addition to this $600,000,000, to issue others of the same description in exchange for any outstanding obligations of the Government, and this was amended in 1866 so as to authorize the sale of such bonds and the application of the funds received therefrom to the reduction of the outstanding debt. Under these two acts there were issued in 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868 over $750,000,000 of bonds at 6 per cent., by which the debt outstanding at a higher rate of interest was cancelled or "refunded." In

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1867 a series of 6 per cent. bonds redeemable at the pleasure of the Government became available for redemption. Some question having arisen as to the intention of the Government regarding the time of payment of its bonds and the character of the money with which it would redeem them, Congress in 1869 passed an act declaring its intention to pay the obligations of the Government in coin or its equivalent. In 1870 an act was passed authorizing the issue of $250,000,000 of 5 per cent. bonds payable at the pleasure of the United States aften ten years, $300,000,000 at 4½ per cent., payable after fifteen years, and $1,000,000,000 at 4 per cent., payable at the pleasure of the Government after thirty years, principal and interest of all of these to be payable in coin, and by a subsequent act the amount of the 5 per cent. bonds was increased to $500,000,000. These were to be used only in taking up other obligations, but by subsequent act they also became available for obtaining the necessary funds with which to resume specie payments. Under the operations of these acts, the high-interest-rate bonds were gradually exchanged for those of a lower rate of interest, and at the same time the market value of the Government's securities was increased. The 7.3 per cent. bonds were entirely paid and cancelled by the middle of 1868, and by 1876 the amount of the 6 per cent. bonds had been cut down one-half. In 1877 the issue of 4½ per cent. and 4 per cent. bonds began, and by 1879 all of the 6 per cents. and the 5 per cent. ten-forty bonds had been redeemed or exchanged for 5, 4½ and 4 per cent. bonds, authorized by the act of 1870, chiefly the latter. Meantime, the revenues had grown rapidly and exceeded the expenditures, and large sums were applied to the reduction of the debt by purchase of bonds. On July 1, 1882, the total interest-bearing debt had been reduced to $1,463,810,400, against $2,381,530,294 in 1865; the 7.3 per cent., 6 per cent. and 5 per cent. bonds had ceased to exist, and the annual interest charge had fallen from $150,977,697 to $57,300,110, and from $4.29 *per capita* to $1.07 *per capita*. The revenues continued to exceed the expenditures by large sums, the surplus ranging from $145,000,000 in 1882 to $103,000,000 in 1887. During this period, all bonds falling due were cancelled and paid, and in addition to this the Secretary of the Treasury, under authority given him by several acts of Congress, made large purchases of unmatured bonds in the market, paying from 120 to 125, and in some cases 129, for the

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long-term 4 per cent. bonds of 1907, and 106 to 109 for the 4½ per cent. bonds which had but a short time to run. Within four years from 1887, the Treasury expended more than $200,000,000 of surplus in the purchase of bonds in excess of the sinking-fund requirements, most of them being bought at a high premium. In 1892, the last 4½ per cents. disappeared, having been paid with the exception of about $25,000,000, which were exchanged for 2 per cent. bonds, the lowest rate securities that had ever been floated at par by any Government. At that date, July 1, 1892, the total interest-bearing debt had fallen to $585,029,330, or less than one-fourth of the debt of 1865, the annual interest charge to $22,893,883, or about one-seventh of that of 1865, and the *per capita* interest charge to 35 cents, or about one-twelfth of that of 1865.

THE BOND ISSUES OF 1894-6.

A check in the reduction of the national indebtedness, however, followed the financial depression which swept over the country in 1893. This depression caused a great falling off in the revenues of the Treasury, and as a consequence the expenditures exceeded the receipts. The resumption act of 1875 had directed the establishment and maintenance of a gold reserve of $100,000,000 in the Treasury with which to redeem the United States legal-tender notes (greenbacks) on presentation, and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury at any time to sell bonds, if necessary, to maintain it at this sum. A shortage of gold in the country and the heavy exports of that article led to the presentation of these notes for gold in exchange, and this, coupled with the deficiency of receipt of revenue, brought the gold reserve down to $69,757,000 by June, 1894, and as the revenues were still unsatisfactory and Congress failed to take steps for their increase, an issue of $50,000,000 of bonds was made under the authority of the resumption act, above mentioned. Much of the gold obtained by this sale of bonds was soon drawn out, however, by the presentation of United States notes, and the revenues were still less than the expenditures, and another issue of $50,000,000 became necessary in the following December. These bonds were issued at 5 per cent. interest, the rate provided by the act under which they were issued, and were sold at about 17 per cent. premium. They were payable, at the pleasure of the Government, in ten

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years after date of issue. The depression continued, however, as did also the exportation of gold, of which about $26,000,000 was exported in January, 1895, and $43,000,000 of gold was withdrawn from the Treasury by the presentation of United States notes for redemption. As a result, another bond issue became necessary. The fact that the former bond issues for strengthening the gold reserve had been followed by an immediate withdrawal of the gold by the presentation of United States notes required some action which would prevent a recurrence of this, and Secretary Carlisle made a contract with a New York syndicate, which included the principal firms engaged in gold exportation, by which thirty-year 4 per cent. bonds were to be issued to them at a price equivalent to 104½. which was considerably below their market value, in consideration of which the syndicate agreed that at least one-half of the gold to be paid therefor should be obtained from abroad, and that it would "exert all financial influence and make all legitimate effort to protect the Treasury against the withdrawal of gold." Under this agreement, $62,315,400 of bonds were issued in February, 1895, which brought the gold reserve again above the necessary $100,000,000. Before the close of the year, however, the shortage in the revenue, coupled with large gold withdrawals from the Treasury by those not parties to the agreement, again reduced the balance in the Treasury far below the requisite sum, and the Secretary's report on that year's operations states that "on the sixth day of January, 1896, the reserve having been reduced to $61,251,710, a circular was issued calling for subscriptions for $100,000,000 of United States 4 per cent. bonds of the same date and character as those sold in February, 1895." This loan was offered for popular subscription, to the highest bidders, and was readily subscribed, the subscriptions far exceeding the total amount of bonds offered, the prices for the bonds accepted ranging from 110 to 120. This brought the gold reserve to a satisfactory figure, and the improved financial condition which began toward the close of that year again brought the Treasury receipts to a point above the expenditures.

THE SPANISH WAR LOAN OF 1898.

With the opening of the war with Spain in 1898 another loan became necessary, and an act was passed authorizing the Secre-

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tary of the Treasury to issue 3 per cent. bonds redeemable in ten years and payable in twenty years, to the amount of $400,000,000, or such part thereof as he might deem necessary. The act provided that they should be offered at par, as a popular loan, under such regulations as would give to all citizens of the United States an opportunity to participate, the allotments to be first made to individuals, beginning with the smallest amount and proceeding in the order of magnitude. The Secretary advertised a sale of $200,000,000 bonds. Under this, there were received more than 300,000 subscriptions, of which about 12,000 were for less than $100 each, 15,000 for sums between $100 and $200, 25,000 for sums ranging from $200 to $500, 180,000 for $500, 60,000 for sums ranging from $500 to $4,500, and 28,000 for sums ranging above $4,500. The total sum subscribed was more than $1,400,000,000, or seven times the amount of the loan advertised. The small subscriptions were so numerous that the entire $200,000,000 was assigned in sums less than $4,500 each, while more than one-half of the entire loan was actually assigned to persons whose subscriptions ranged from $20 to $500 each.

THE REFUNDING LOAN OF 1900.

The latest, and in some particulars, the most remarkable bond issue made by the Government, is that by which over $400,000,000 of 3 per cent., 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. bonds were exchanged for bonds bearing 2 per cent. interest, a lower rate security than was ever issued by any other Government in the world. The act of March 14, 1900, establishing the gold standard, authorized the issue of thirty-year bonds *payable in gold coin,* bearing 2 per cent. interest, but to be used only in refunding the public debt. Of the bonds then outstanding, 100 millions were at 5 per cent. interest, payable in 1904, 720 millions at 4 per cent. interest, payable in 1907, and about 200 millions at 3 per cent. payable in 1908, and all commanded a high premium in the markets. The Secretary of the Treasury in his circular offering to exchange the new thirty-year 2 per cent. gold bonds for the shorter term, higher interest bonds stated that, upon the acceptance of any bonds in exchange for the new 2 per cent. bonds, "the present worth of the surrendered bonds to yield an income of 2¼ per cent. will be calculated, and the sum representing the difference between their

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present worth and their par value will be paid to the owner by check upon the Treasurer of the United States." Under this proposition over 300 millions of the higher rate, short-term bonds were exchanged for the 2 per cents. in the short period between March 14, 1900, and June 30, 1900; and while the premium paid was about $31,000,000, the saving of interest was over $38,000,000, making the net profit to the Government over $7,000,000. The exchanges have continued at a less rapid rate since that time, the total amount of the debt refunded into the gold-bearing 2 per cent. bonds being about $446,000,000. In addition to this, there are still outstanding of 3 per cent. bonds, $97,000,000; of 4 per cent. bonds, $368,000,000, and of 5 per cent. bonds, $19,000,000. Thus, practically one-half of the interest-bearing debt of the United States now stands at 2 per cent., a lower rate than that paid by any other country, and sales of these 2 per cent. bonds are daily quoted in the financial markets of the country at a premium of over 8 per cent.

THE PROPOSED ISTHMIAN CANAL LOAN.

Another bond issue, in prospect, is that authorized by the recent act of Congress providing for the construction of an Isthmian canal. It authorizes the issue of 130 millions of 2 per cent. bonds, which are to be sold at not less than par, and to be offered for popular subscriptions on plans similar to those followed in the Spanish war loan already described.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The Pacific Railroad debt of the United States, although now happily adjusted, is worthy of mention in this connection. It consisted of about $65,000,000 of United States bonds, issued to aid the Union and Central Pacific Railroad companies in obtaining funds for the construction of the line from Omaha to San Francisco, the agreement being that the companies would pay the interest and principal of the bonds as they fell due. These bonds became a second mortgage upon the roads. The companies, however, defaulted on the interest and it was paid by the Government, which, by an act of Congress in 1878, was authorized to retain the sums due from the Government to the companies for service, to apply on the payment of the interest and a reduction of the principal of the bonds. This,

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however, proved insufficient, and in 1897 steps were taken by the Government to enforce its claim by the sale of the roads. This was quickly followed by offers of settlement, and a sum equivalent to the face value of the bonds and practically all of the accrued interest was paid to the Government in cancellation of its entire claims against the Union Pacific road. In 1899, a settlement was made by the Central Pacific Company, by which it gave to the United States twenty notes of $2,940,635 each, payable at intervals of six months each in gold with interest at 3 per cent. secured by a deposit of $57,820,000 of 4 per cent. gold first-mortgage bonds of the company, which were to form part of an issue not to exceed $100,000,000 of first-mortgage bonds, and to be a first lien upon the road and certain of its property. These transactions removed the Pacific Railroad bonds from the list of obligations of the United States, and reimbursed to the Government the entire face value of the bonds and practically all of the interest which it had paid on them during the default of the railroad companies.

CURRENCY USED IN SUBSCRIPTIONS TO AND REDEMPTION OF UNITED STATES SECURITIES.

The question of the kind of currency in which the securities of the United States were to be paid has been a matter of much discussion at various times. Previous to 1860, all payments by the Government were made in specie, and no mention of the kind of currency to be used in such payments was therefore necessary. Specie payments were suspended by the Government on January 1, 1862, and the legal-tender act passed in February of that year; and subsequent to that time, the United States legal-tender notes were accepted by the Government at their face value for all securities sold by it, without reference to their gold value. It soon became necessary, therefore, to indicate by the act authorizing the bond issues the kind of currency in which they would be redeemed. In the $75,000,000 loan of 1863, the bonds were made payable, principal and interest, in "coin." The compound-interest notes of 1863 were payable in "lawful money." The "ten-forties" of 1864 were payable in coin, as were also the "five-twenties" of that year. The three-year 7.3 per cent. Treasury notes issued in 1865 stated on their face that they were payable, principal and interest, in "lawful money," but were exchange-

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able for bonds payable after five years in coin. The "five-twenties" of 1865 were payable in coin, as were also the "consols" issued for consolidating and refunding the National Debt in 1865 and 1867. The bonds issued in 1867, to redeem the compound-interest notes, stated on their face that they were "payable in lawful money." In 1869, Congress passed a resolution declaring specifically that "in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the Government to discharge all obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of law, it is hereby provided that the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent of the United States notes and all the interest-bearing obligations, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or in other currency than gold or silver." After that date all securities issued were made payable in "coin," until 1900, when the $445,000,000 of 2 per cent. "consols" issued for the refunding of the debt at a lower rate of interest stated specifically upon their face that they were payable, principal and interest, "in gold coin of the standard value of the United States."

COMPOUND-INTEREST NOTES.

One class of securities issued toward the close of the war was unique in character. A large part of the interest-bearing Treasury notes issued by the Government at various dates provided for the payment of interest semi-annually. While it was not especially intended that they should be used as circulating medium, they soon came to be so utilized to a large extent, and proved unsatisfactory because of the fact that holders were disposed to hoard them when approaching the date for the payment of the semi-annual interest, and immediately thereafter rush them into the market. Secretary Fessenden in 1864 conceived the plan of issuing compound-interest notes to take the place of these, the interest so compounded to be paid only on the maturity of the notes. He believed that this would not only obviate the fluctuating character of those utilized for currency, but have a tendency to gradually prevent their use for that purpose. He was authorized by law to issue notes bearing 7.3 per cent. interest, and he found that a three-years' 6 per cent. note, with interest compounded every six months, would amount to considerably less

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at the expiration of the three years' term than would be paid for interest and principal of an ordinary 7.3 per cent. interest note for the same time. He therefore issued over $250,000,000 of these notes, utilizing them chiefly to take up the outstanding interest-bearing Treasury notes which had proved unsatisfactory as circulation, for the reasons already stated. A part of the compound-interest notes so issued entered into circulation, and some were so utilized until the close of the war, proving less unsatisfactory than those for which they had been substituted. On this general question of the form, interest-bearing qualities, and circulation of the Treasury notes issued during the war, it may be said that they differed greatly. Some of them were for one year, or even two years, with interest payable only at maturity; some simply stated on their face that the interest was payable semi-annually; still others bore interest coupons which stated the amount of interest due at certain dates, semi-annually; while in the case of the legal-tender United States notes of 1862, popularly known as "greenbacks," no interest was to be paid and no date was named at which the principal would be paid.

SINKING FUND.

The reduction of the public debt has been chiefly through the machinery of what is known as the "sinking fund." An act was passed in 1790, on the recommendation of Hamilton, establishing a sinking fund from the surplus of the customs and tonnage revenues, to be applied to the purchase of the securities of the United States at their market value, if not exceeding par; and as the country grew prosperous Congress required that certain fixed sums should be annually paid into the sinking fund, and in years of exceptional prosperity it added special sums from the surplus. In years of small receipts, the sinking fund was neglected. With the money so appropriated the commissioners of the sinking fund bought the outstanding securities at market prices, or paid and cancelled them as they became due. In 1862, a sinking fund for the reduction of the debt then being contracted was established. It directed that a sum equal to one per cent. of the public debt should be paid annually into the fund, to be used in the redemption or purchase of the securities of the Government, and that the annual interest on all bonds so purchased should also be paid into the sinking fund each year and be also

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applied to the purchase of bonds. It was calculated that a faithful application of this process would wipe out the debt in about fifty years. The proposition was a very attractive one, but it has not worked altogether smoothly in application. The various heads of the Treasury Department have generally assumed that their first duty was to meet the current requirements of the Treasury, and in years of light revenues and heavy expenditures the sinking fund has received only whatever could be applied after meeting the current requirements of the service, and the sum so placed has therefore fluctuated greatly. It was not until 1869 that the Secretary of the Treasury was able to begin applying any of the revenue to the sinking fund, and for a few years this fell far below the one per cent. directed by law. In later years, however, as prosperity returned and the revenues increased, all of the sum representing one per cent. of the principal of the debt was passed to the credit of the sinking fund, and as bonds were purchased with this sum and cancelled, the interest which they would have drawn if continued in existence was also paid into the fund. These bonds are in fact cancelled as soon as purchased, but a record of their face value and rates of interest is kept, and a sum equal to the interest which they would have drawn if still outstanding is also passed to the sinking fund. As a consequence, the interest due to the sinking fund upon these purchased and extinguished bonds now amounts to much more than the required one per cent. of the principal of the debt. The payments into the sinking fund in last fiscal year amounted in round terms to $53,000,000, of which about $10,000,000 was the one per cent. payment on the principal of the outstanding interest-bearing debt, and $43,000,000 was the amount of interest which the cancelled and destroyed bonds would have drawn had they remained in existence and unpaid. In addition to this, however, large sums have been applied from the surplus funds in the Treasury to the direct purchase of bonds or to the meeting the bonds as they fell due. The total reduction of the interest-bearing debt from 1865 to 1892 was nearly $1,800,000,000, and the total amount of bonds purchased for the sinking fund up to that time was but about $820,000,000, the remainder having been accomplished by redemption of the bonds on presentation or the purchase of them in the open markets from surplus funds in the Treasury, under authority given by various acts of Congress.

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NATIONAL BANKS.

A discussion of the National Debt of the United States would scarcely be complete without some reference to the National Banking System, which utilizes the bonds of the United States as security for the $325,000,000 of national bank-notes which form an important part of the circulating medium of the country. Secretary Chase recommended to Congress in December, 1861, that a system of national banks be established, with authority to issue bank-notes secured by United States bonds, but his recommendation was not adopted until February, 1863, when an act was passed establishing the National Banking System. It provided that five or more persons might organize banking associations with fully paid up capital stock, that such banks might deposit United States bonds with the Government and receive in exchange therefor national bank-notes to the amount of 90 per cent. of the par value of the bonds, which notes the banks were permitted to issue in their current business. These notes are guaranteed by the Government, which may utilize the bonds deposited for their redemption and has a first lien upon certain assets of the bank in case the proceeds of the bonds deposited do not fully meet the notes. In 1900, the limit to which banks might issue notes was extended to the par value of the bonds deposited. The advantages claimed for this system are that it assures a safe and uniform bank currency, acceptable at all times and places without reference to the financial standing of the bank, since the securities deposited with the Treasury Department by each bank are fully equal to the sum which it is permitted to issue; also, that it creates a constant market for the securities of the Government, and, by distributing them among the financiers of the country assures their support in maintaining the financial standing of the Government. The State banks, which existed prior to the National Banking act, and which had been permitted to issue currency upon such securities as the State authorities might determine, declined in most instances to transform themselves into national banks; but as their currency was unsatisfactory and in many cases occasioned loss to those accepting it, Congress in 1865 passed an act placing a tax of 10 per cent. upon their circulation, which soon terminated their operations as banks of issue, and many were transformed into national banks. The number of national banks in July, 1864, was 467; in July, 1865, 1,294;

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in November, 1887, 3,061, and on June 1, 1902, 4,510, with a capital stock of $675,721,695, national bank-notes outstanding $356,747,184, and individual deposits $3,111,690,196. These banks now hold about $450,000,000 of the outstanding Government bonds, or nearly one-half of the entire amount, about $330,000,000 of their holdings being deposited with the Treasury Department to secure their circulation.

OWNERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL SECURITIES.

The question as to the ownership of the national securities of the United States has been often discussed, but can be determined only approximately because of the fact that a large share of the bonds have interest "coupons" attached, which the holder cuts off and presents at any bank, where it is cashed and forwarded to the Treasury Department, with others of like character, for redemption. During the Civil War some of the securities were placed abroad, though not in large numbers, as investors in foreign countries were uncertain as to the result of the struggle. At the termination of the war, however, the demand abroad for securities of the United States greatly increased; and some additions to the number of foreign holders were made. In general terms, however, it may be said that all but a very small share of the securities of the Government are held in the United States. In 1803, the number of holders of United States securities was estimated by Seybert's Statistical Annals at about 15,000, and in 1880 they were estimated at over 80,000. In the Spanish war loan of 1900, the number of subscribers was over 300,000, and the number to whom bonds were issued was in round terms 290,000. Presumably, however, a large share of these bonds soon found their way into the hands of the banks and trust companies, since, as is shown elsewhere, about one-half of the outstanding bonds of the United States are now held by the national banks alone, while the savings banks, trust companies, insurance companies and other organizations of this character are also large holders. The number of holders of registered bonds is now about 58,000, and as about 85 per cent.. of the total interest-bearing indebtedness is in registered bonds, it may be estimated that the total number of holders of all classes of bonds does not at present exceed 75,000. The best estimates that can be obtained put the total of the national debt which is held abroad at $25,000,000.

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"STOCKS" *versus* "BONDS."

It is a curious fact that the long-term securities of the Government prior to 1860 were usually designated as "stock" or "stocks," while since that date they have been designated as "bonds." This is true not only of the discussions regarding these securities, but also as to the laws authorizing them, and in some cases the wording of the securities themselves. Many of the securities issued prior to 1860 bore on their face the designation "stock," while many of those issued after that date bore the designation "bond." Inquiries among officers of the Government familiar with the history of the securities, some of whom were in the service of the Government prior to 1860, fail to produce any explanation of the cause of this change in designation.

It is supposed, however, that the early use of the term "stocks" was adopted from the English custom by which the government obligations had been designated as "stocks" ever since the days in which the loans made to that government were recorded by notches cut in a stick called a "tally," the person loaning the money to the government receiving one half of the stick, with his name officially endorsed thereon, his section of the stick being designated as his "stock," and the half retained by the government being designated as the "counter stock." This method of recording certain accounts was retained by the English government until about the close of the eighteenth century, and the term "stocks" is still applied to securities of that government, especially those having no fixed date for their redemption. The change in designation in the United States after 1860 seems to have been in recognition of the custom by which the term "stock" was held to relate to evidences of part ownership in an organization or corporation, and that of "bonds," to the promises of such organization to repay money loaned to it.

THE HISTORY OF THE DEBT AT A GLANCE.

The following table is interesting as showing how the National Debt of the United States rose and fell from year to year and from period to period in response to the exigencies of the national life. The figures include all indebtedness prior to 1856, but after that date they indicate the interest-bearing debt only. It should be noted, also, that the statement is for January 1st of each year prior to 1843, and for July 1st of each subsequent year.

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National Indebtedness of the United States, 1791 to 1902.

Jan. 1, 1791	$75,463,476.52	July 1, 1847	$38,826,534.77
1792	77,227,924.66	1848	47,044,862.23
1793	80,358,634.04	1849	63,061,858.69
1794	78,427,404.77	1850	63,452,773.55
1795	80,747,587.39	1851	68,304,796.02
1796	83,762,172.07	1852	66,199,341.71
1797	82,064,479.33	1853	59,803,117.70
1798	79,228,529.12	1854	42,242,222.42
1799	78,408,669.77	1855	31,762,761.77
1800	82,976,294.35	1856	28,460,958.93
1801	83,038,050.80	1857	44,700,838.11
1802	80,712,632.25	1858	58,290,738.11
1803	77,054,686.40	1859	64,640,838.11
1804	86,427,120.88	1860	90,380,873.95
1805	82,312,150.50	1861	365,304,826.92
1806	75,723,270.66	1862	707,531,634.47
1807	69,218,398.64	1863	1,359,930,763.50
1808	65,196,317.97	1864	2,221,311,918.29
1809	57,023,192.09	1865	2,381,530,294.96
1810	53,173,217.52	1866	2,332,331,207.60
1811	48,005,587.76	1867	2,248,067,387.66
1812	45,209,737.90	1868	2,202,088,727.69
1813	55,962,827.57	1869	2,162,060,522.39
1814	81,487,846.24	1870	2,046,455,722.39
1815	99,833,660.15	1871	1,934,696,750.00
1816	127,334,933.74	1872	1,814,794,100.00
1817	123,491,965.16	1873	1,710,483,950.00
1818	103,466,633.83	1874	1,738,930,750.00
1819	95,529,648.28	1875	1,722,676,300.00
1820	91,015,566.15	1876	1,710,685,450.00
1821	89,987,427.66	1877	1,711,888,500.00
1822	93,546,676.98	1878	1,794,735,650.00
1823	90,875,877.28	1879	1,797,643,700.00
1824	90,269,777.77	1880	1,723,993,100.00
1825	83,788,432.71	1881	1,639,567,750.00
1826	81,054,059.99	1882	1,463,810,400.00
1827	73,987,357.20	1883	1,338,229,150.00
1828	67,475,043.87	1884	1,226,563,850.00
1829	58,421,413.67	1885	1,196,150,950.00
1830	48,565,406.50	1886	1,146,014,100.00
1831	39,123,191.68	1887	1,021,692,350.00
1832	24,322,235.18	1888	950,522,500.00
1833	7,001,698.83	1889	829,853,990.00
1834	4,760,082.08	1890	725,313,110.00
1835	33,733.05	1891	610,529,120.00
1836	37,513.05	1892	585,029,330.00
1837	336,957.83	1893	585,037,100.00
1838	3,308,124.07	1894	635,041,890.00
1839	10,434,221.14	1895	716,202,060.00
1840	3,573,343.82	1896	847,363,890.00
1841	5,250,875.54	1897	847,365,130.00
1842	13,594,480.73	1898	847,367,470.00
1843	20,201,226.27	1899	1,046,048,750.00
July 1, 1843	32,742,922.00	1900	1,023,478,860.00
1844	23,461,652.50	1901	987,141,040.00
1845	15,925,303.01	1902	931,070,340.00
1846	15,550,202.97		

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CORSICANA,

ITS LOCATION, ADVANTAGES, AND RESOURCES, AS SEEN BY ONE SEEKING INVESTMENT.

A man visiting Corsicana, with a view to buying a home and investing in business enterprises, is reminded of the fact that the city has not obeyed the Biblical injunction, but has kept its light under a bushel.

Navarro County, of which Corsicana is the county seat, embraces seven hundred thousand acres, and is in the great black belt in Central Texas. It has a population of more than forty thousand, and more than one hundred miles of railroad, and this mileage will probably be doubled in the next two years.

The chief export products of the county are cotton and oil. The cotton production amounts to one hundred thousand bales per annum. Several thousand barrels of oil per day are produced by the oil-wells in the vicinity of the city.

Corsicana has a population of eleven thousand. Its chief pursuits are mercantile and manufacturing. The graded free-school system prevails, and it comprises the primary, grammar, and high-school departments. Mr. J. W. Cantwell, the superintendent, was graduated from Yale; he is a young man, well equipped, ambitious, and devoted to the interests of the school. More than one hundred thousand dollars are invested in school property and appliances, and the schools are maintained for nine months during the year. The high-school building, just completed, is one of the most handsome and commodious in the State, and will be well equipped with modern appliances.

The Protestant and Catholic churches have many communicants, and own handsome church buildings, and their priests and pastors are men of culture. The Hebrews have a handsome synagogue and a polished rabbi.

The city has a water system affording ample protection against fire, and the water is used for many domestic and steam purposes. The system is supplied by three artesian wells dug to an average depth of 2500 feet, and the water has many medicinal qualities. The sewer system protects the entire business portion of the city and a large portion of the residence part. In addition to the sewer system, a crematory is used, at which garbage which cannot go through the sewer is cremated. The two systems make the city clean, and give it one of the lowest death-rates in the United States.

The electric-light plant supplies the entire city. An electric street-car line is now being built, and will accommodate a large portion of the city.

The Houston & Texas Central Railroad, a part of the Southern Pacific system, and the St. Louis Southwestern Railway cross at right angles, and give the city five outlets. The Rock Island system will reach the city in the near future. The International will probably be built to Corsicana, and the Texas Short Line is looked upon as a certainty.

There are three wholesale grocery houses and one wholesale produce house. There are many firms engaged in the retail dry-goods, hardware, boot and shoe, and drug businesses, but no wholesale houses in these lines, and it is believed wholesale houses in any or all of these lines will pay. With the additional railroad facilities which have been secured, opportunities for investment in wholesale mercantile business in the lines indicated will be found superior here to those available in most localities.

There are no competitors within 200 miles south, and none nearer than fifty miles north and one hundred miles east.

The need for additional banking capital is shown by the fact that ten per cent. is the prevailing rate of interest for the best paper.

Manufacturing, so far, has been confined to cotton goods, ice, cotton-seed oil, petroleum-oil refining, candy, bottling-works, flour, planing-mills, and foundry. Additional ice-factories, or an enlargement of the existing plant, would pay well. Ice can be sold in paying quantities for nine months during the year. During the heated season just past the ice-wagons could not reach much of the resident portion of the city until twelve o'clock.

Woolen mills, wooden factories, and various other lines would do well. The cheap fuel in Corsicana furnished by the oil-wells offers superior inducements to factories. The crude article is sold at fifty cents per barrel, and it has been demonstrated that three barrels of oil will produce as much steam-power as one ton of coal.

The people are hospitable, and recognize literary merit and business capacity. A small free library has been established, and efforts are being made for its further extension.

The many inducements for investment cannot be told in a short space. They are apparent to any one visiting the city.

R. S. NEBLETT.

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WACO, TEXAS.

ITS RESOURCES, PROSPECTS, AND FUTURE.

Waco, the central city of Texas, with a population of 30,000, is the capital of McLennan County. It is located practically in the geographical centre of the State, with the Brazos River dividing it into two parts, the river being spanned by a suspension bridge which is a monument of engineering skill. Another bridge of steel is under construction to cost $100,000.

A new court-house is now being built on Washington Street at a cost of $300,000.

The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway has just completed a large, handsome brick and stone depot at a cost of $50,000.

Waco is already a large railroad centre, and she must, by virtue of her location, become the commercial emporium and industrial metropolis of Texas. No city, perhaps, on earth has a more commanding and attractive position, for no city has such a great country surrounding it.

The city of Waco is the central business emporium of Texas, and over its ever-widening tributary territory, a region of vast riches and resources, it has exclusive right and is absolute monarch. Shrewd investors need no further hint. The tide is coming this way, and each succeeding day its motion is accelerated. Now is the time — so far as acquiring of property, the establishing of manufacturing, etc., is concerned—for investment of capital.

No city in Texas can compare with Waco in material and permanent improvements accomplished within the present century. If a period of three years be taken, beginning in 1899, a table of betterments could be computed which would show disbursements of more than one and a half millions in public and private buildings, bridges, and street improvement. The wonderful growth of the city must be ascribed to the intelligence of its officials, the energy of its business men, its incomparable geographical position, the fertility of the region, and the many other natural advantages possessed, some of which will be set forth before the conclusion of this article is reached.

The Brazos River was spanned thirty years ago by a superb suspension bridge, and this bridge became inadequate to accommodate the movement across it, the population having vastly increased compared with the earlier period of the city. Therefore, the County Commissioners' Court and the Board of Aldermen, jointly, issued bonds to defray the expense of the construction of a new bridge of steel and stone masonry to cost, together with its approaches, $120,000.

The county of McLennan outgrew its court-house, and therefore a new structure was determined upon, and will soon be completed, of highly ornamental architecture and indestructible material. The new court-house, together with the jail and the residence of the sheriff, will cost more than $300,000.

The great steel bridge consists of one main channel span of 450 feet and two deck plate girder-spans, one forty and the other sixty-eight feet, making a total length of 558 feet. This is the longest single-span bridge in the Southwest. The channel-span rests on cylindrical piers eight feet in diameter. The floor of the bridge will be ten feet above the highest flood-point ever attained since the white people entered McLennan County. There is a main roadway twenty-four feet wide and two footway wings, one on each side, six feet wide each. The footways on the outside will be protected by steel railings four feet high, of ornamental design. The floor system of the entire bridge is modern in every particular, being composed of buckle plates of steel covered with four inches of concrete, the concrete being covered with asphaltum. The height of the centre panel is sixty feet. The amount of steel employed in the structure is over 2,000,000 pounds. The suspension bridge is still in excellent preservation. It will soon be converted into a rigid structure, and will be used for street-car purposes, in order to give the citizens on the east side trolley car service, and this will involve the building of two and a half miles of street-car track in the Fifth Ward, which improvement, including the proposed extension to Dripping Springs and the changes to be made in the suspension bridge, will cost nearly $200,000.

The United States government began thirty-five years ago making preparations to improve the Brazos River, with a view to navigation. Work was resumed two years ago, and the survey from Waco to the Gulf of Mexico was recently completed. Three-quarters of a mile above the new steel bridge the site for the dam for the storage lake has been selected, and this dam will create an immense reservoir capable of containing more than two billions of cubic feet of water, or rather two reservoirs, for it will impound water in both the Brazos and the Bosque.

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leaving an island near the juncture of the two streams named, the extreme altitude of which will be nearly 200 feet above the water-level, and on the summit of this eminence a club-house has recently been constructed at a cost of $25,000. The government dam will cost $100,000, and condemnation proceedings will be instituted to secure the considerable acreage which will be submerged by the double lake. The government improvements named will greatly enhance values in Waco, and will vastly increase the area of irrigated land in this region, as well as giving a waterway in competition with the railroads for freighting to the port cities.

Waco is the greatest interior cotton market in the world. The figures taken from the five compresses and from the freight offices show that last year 90,000 bales of cotton were sold from first hands to shippers in this city. In addition to the actual wagon cotton mentioned above, more than 1,000,000 bales came here from elsewhere to be compressed into round and square bales for forwarding to the domestic and Old World spinners.

At the Paris Exposition in 1900 prizes were offered for the richest sample of soil, the competition open to the world. Packages of soil brought from the Ganges in India, the Nile in Egypt, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Seine in Europe, the Thames in England, the Mississippi, the Brazos, and the Amazon of the Western Hemisphere, were submitted, and after scientific analysis the judges gave the award to a package of soil dug up a few miles below Waco in the Brazos Valley. The Brazos soil without fertilizing, with irrigation, can be made to produce two and a half bales of cotton to the acre. Any seasonable year, average Brazos land can be made to produce two bales to the acre, and one bale to the acre is yielded under the primitive methods too often employed by Brazos Valley planters. The soil varies from rich black waxy to light loam.

The volume of business transacted annually in Waco is over $25,000,000.

In educational advantages Waco is easily ahead in the Lone Star State, leading with Baylor University, which was established in 1850, and has recently been improved by the building of a chapel and library, a dormitory, a mess hall, and a science hall at a cost of $200,000. The Texas Christian University, formerly known as the Add-Ran University, has doubled its capacity, and, together with its magnificent site, is now estimated to be worth $800,000. The two institutions named above are both co-educational, numbering male and female students, 2,500. The city has central and district schools capable of seating 4,000 pupils, which are now inadequate, and five new district schools will be built at a cost of $40,000. One of the best educational institutions is the Academy of the Sacred Heart, a Catholic college for girls only. Waco has an industrial school called Paul Quinn College, for colored boys and girls, the only such institution in Texas. It has two commercial colleges and a number of select schools.

Railway investments in this city came like pig tracks, one behind the other. The material for the suspension bridge was brought here from Calvert thirty-two years ago on wagons drawn by oxen and mules. That object-lesson in heavy freighting brought to the attention of the population the necessity of a railway, and a tap road from Bremond to this city was immediately begun. That road was followed in turn by the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, the St. Louis, Arkansas & Texas (now the Cotton Belt), the Texas Central, the San Antonio & Aransas Pass, and recently by the International and Great Northern. The Houston & Texas Central absorbed the Bremond tap, and now the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe is getting ready to build into Waco. The Katy has recently built a beautiful passenger depot of fire-proof material; the Texas Central is building freight and passenger depots; the Cotton Belt has built a new freight depot and improved its terminal facilities generally, and the International and Great Northern is preparing to build. Under construction now, recently completed, and in prospect, the railway improvements in the aggregate will increase the taxable values of Waco $200,000. A New York capitalist invested $300,000 in Waco real estate, and Swift & Co of Chicago have recently acquired a block for a storage establishment.

Area.—Four miles square, but growing so rapidly the limits must soon be extended.

Artesian Water.—At this time, with the combination of tubular and artesian wells, the city daily consumes 2,550,000 gallons of artesian water and 3,000,000 from the tubular wells, and that quantity is needed to meet the demand.

Banks.—Waco has three national, one State, and two savings banks, with an aggregate capital and surplus of $1,500,000.

Business.—The volume of business done is enormous for a city of this size, the cotton business alone aggregating over 100,000 bales the last fiscal year. The legitimate commercial business, wholesale and retail, is estimated at $25,000,000 for the year 1900. The trade of Waco ex-

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tends throughout Texas, into Mexico, Indian Territory, and many of the older States. Woolen textiles, of Waco manufacture, are sold in New England cities, in spite of stupendous competition of Northern capital and enterprise.

Business Clubs.—Waco has two active and efficient organizations for promoting commerce, manufactories, and all industrial enterprises, one being the Waco Business Men's Club and the other the Young Men's Business League. They have elegantly furnished club-rooms.

The fact that the cotton crop of Texas for the lint alone in 1900 yielded $45 for every man, woman, and child in the State is of itself calculated to arrest attention. A State which has one crop of such magnitude, and whose soil produces almost every other crop known to a temperate climate, and whose mineral and timber resources are sufficient to create even more wealth than its agriculture, is a State which must be reckoned with in forecasting the future of our country.

Capital.—The influx of capital into this city as an investment most profitable has been very evident. No less than fifteen or twenty concerns are operating here. Money can be had of the banks at six per cent. on good collateral. The real estate and loan associations are numerous, and represent a capital reckoned at not less than $3,000,000.

Climate.—The altitude of Waco above the sea-level is 750 feet. The winters have an average duration of three months, during which time the south wind prevails for about half of the time.

Distances.—Waco is distant by rail from Denison, on the north line of the State, 183 miles; from Texarkana, on the east, 254 miles; from Galveston, on the south, 238 miles; from El Paso, on the northwest, 651 miles. The above are all border cities.

Electricity.—It is here in all its functions and ramifications, propelling a splendid street-car system, moving the wheels of the factory, cooling the air, and giving light everywhere in the city. The Citizens' Railway Company owns and operates twenty trolley-cars on as many miles of track, covering almost the entire city. The transfer system enables the passenger on some of the belts to ride ten miles for five cents.

Among the improvements on hand is the Young Men's Christian Association building, which will cost when completed $50,000. That organization maintains a library and reading-room, and, aside from its moral and religious advantages, is regarded as one of the best investments in the city.

In competition with all the leading cities in the State, Waco secured the Grand Masonic Temple and donated to the order for a site for the temple a block on Franklin Street, between Fifth and Sixth streets. The next grand lodge will be held in this city, and two years hence the Grand Masonic Temple will be dedicated, the cost of which, when completed, will be $500,000.

In 1850 one stage-coach, twice a week, entered this city. At this time twenty trains come and go daily.

In 1850 two wooden taverns accommodated all the demands for hotel privileges. Now Waco has five magnificent hotels.

The fire department is one of the best in the South. It is a paid and volunteer department, and represents an investment of over $120,000.

Post-office.—The United States government has a custom-house and post-office building here which cost $120,000. The gross revenue, sale of stamps, for the year ending March 31, 1901, was $52,754.76. The money order business for the fourth quarter of 1899 amounted to $352,884.84, and for the same quarter of 1900, $549,723.55; increase of 1900 over 1899, $196,838.71.

Parks.—The city is preparing to improve three parks in as many wards, owning the ground for the purpose, all of them being advantageously located, well shaded and watered. There are a great many private pleasure-grounds within and very near the corporation line, and there is now being built at Proctor Springs the finest club building in the South.

Homes.—Owing to its topography, sloping hills, valleys, shade trees, easy drainage, rich soil for gardens, and excellent water, the advantages for delightful homes offered in Waco are unrivalled in Texas or any other State.

Hygiene.—It is here that life is prolonged into old age. There is something in the climate, an abiding influence that gives health and happiness. The death-rate is 9½ to the thousand.

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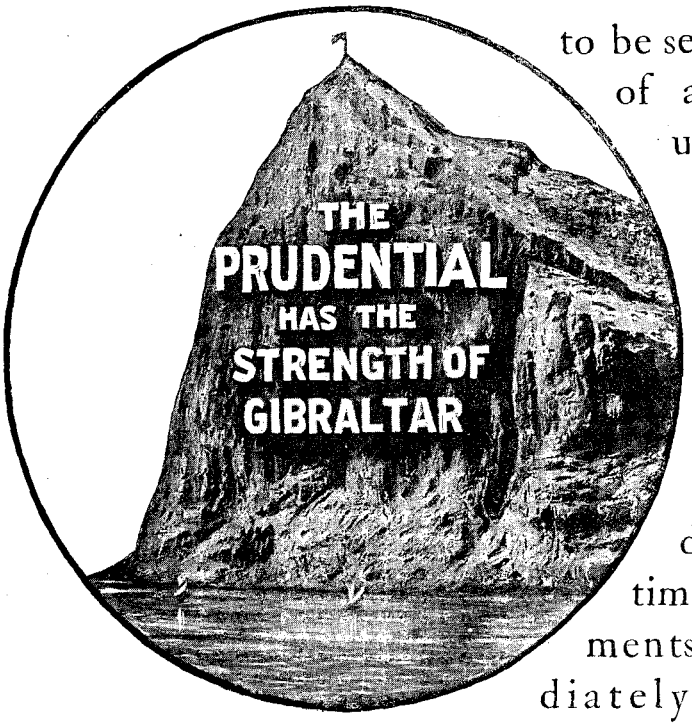

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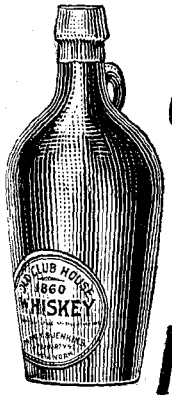

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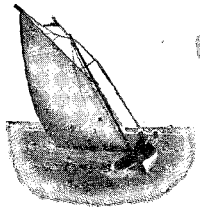

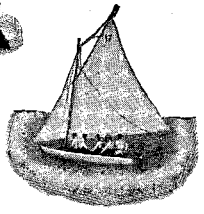

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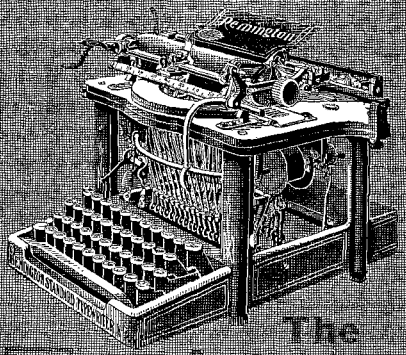

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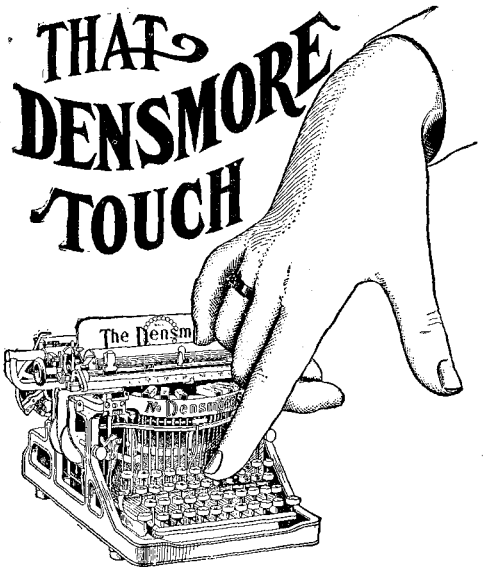

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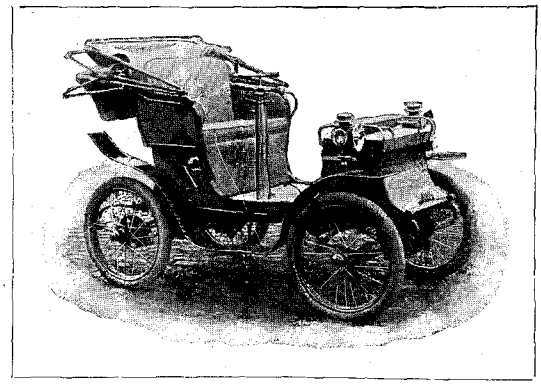

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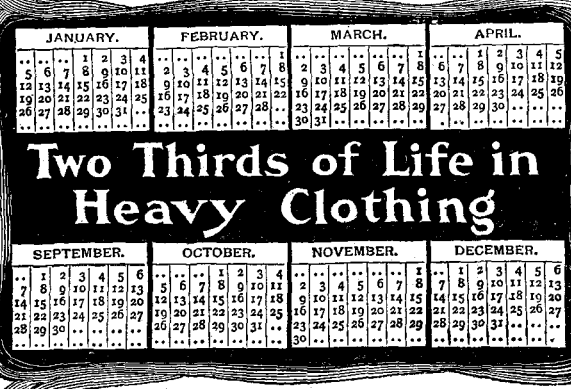

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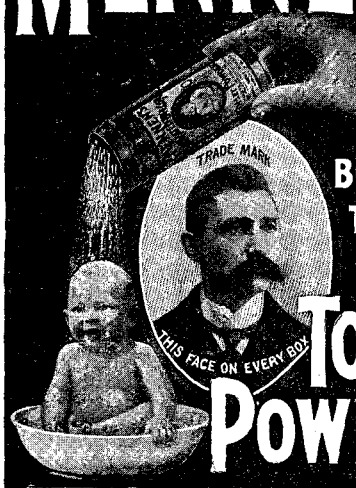

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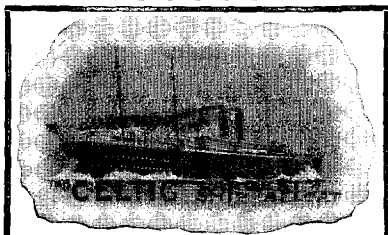

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